





OLD TIMES;

OR,

TENNESSEE HISTORY,

FOR

Tennessee Boys and Girls.

BY EDWIN PASCHALL.

IN THREE BOOKS.

Nashville, Tenn.:

PUBLISHED FOR THE AUTHOR.

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TO THE PUBLIC.

PERSONS inclined to criticise this humble work, are requested to observe, that it is not entitled *the*, or even *a*, History of Tennessee; but only "Tennessee History." It prefers no claim to original research or to completeness. The author has relied upon extant histories for materials, and from them has selected such topics as seemed best suited to his design of making a book which young persons, either at school or at home, will read with pleasure and profit.

A long experience in the school-room has convinced him that the serial readers usually put into the hands of pupils in our schools are, in some essential points, ill-adapted for juvenile reading. In the first place, they are frag-

mentary; being collections of pieces of every variety, without relation to each other, except that they are found in the same volume. Now, what the young mind craves above all other things is a narrative—a continuous story. This fondness for narrative is manifested even in the nursery, where nothing sooner quiets and pleases a child than “to tell a tale.” It prevails during the whole period of intellectual growth, and will be gratified, if nothing better is offered, with the miserable fictions of “dime novels.”

A farther objection to the serial school-books in vogue, is found in the character of the selections with which they are filled. The first, and perhaps the second, of the series may answer well for the exercise of children merely learning to know words by sight. But the subsequent volumes are made up of “elegant extracts,” in prose and verse, which none but *men* and *women* of literary habits are qualified to appreciate. Both in the subject-matter, and in style of composition, they are quite beyond the immature powers and uncultivated tastes of

boys and girls. Hence the reading of them is a dull, hard task-work to those who are forced through it, producing no better result than *the habit of not understanding*, and consequent disinclination to meddle with books. By these remarks, it is not intended to cast any blame upon teachers, who employ the serial readers from necessity, and because they cannot procure more suitable works.

Impressed with these views, the author has undertaken to supply a book which, both for the nature of the subject and the simple style in which it is treated, young persons will be inclined to read and able to understand. While eschewing the nursery talk of Parleyism, he has endeavored to avoid all words and phrases which an intelligent boy of a dozen years may not comprehend, especially with the help afforded by the *context of a continuous narrative*. For the purpose of adapting it to be read by classes in schools, the book is divided into chapters of suitable length for separate lessons; and as far as possible, each chapter is made to have a

beginning and end of its own, without impairing the connection and dependence of the whole.

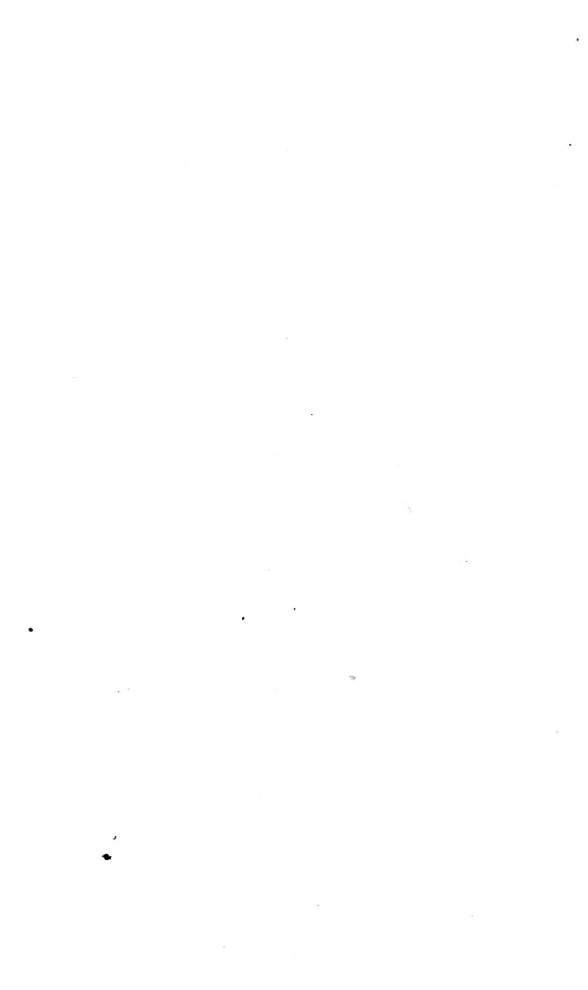
While such is the primary object of the author, he indulges the hope that such a work will prove both entertaining and instructive to that large majority of adult persons in Tennessee who have neither leisure nor inclination to read larger histories; and that the story of the struggles and hardships of the pioneers who founded our noble State, may pleasantly and profitably beguile winter evenings in the happy families who, in peace and plenty, are enjoying the fruits of their heroic toils.

Whether in all or in any of these purposes he has been able to deserve success, is a question referred to the indulgent judgment of his countrymen, by their humble servant,

THE AUTHOR.

BOOK I.

EAST TENNESSEE.



OLD TIMES; OR, TENNESSEE HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

A GREAT man once said, "Tennesseans are bound to be true and brave from respect to their ancestors." If so, then how necessary is it that each successive generation of Tennesseans should be made acquainted with those ancestors—should understand their character and principles of action, and how they acquitted themselves in the scenes through which they were called to pass. To assist the boys and girls, who must soon become the men and women of Tennessee, in acquiring this knowledge, this little book has been prepared. It is intended

to present to them a history of old times in Tennessee, at once pleasant to read and easy to understand.

No other new country will ever be settled in the same manner as was Tennessee. The invention of steamboats, railroads, and telegraphs has entirely changed the mode of proceeding in such matters. Hence, the early population of our State were placed in peculiar circumstances, which naturally gave rise to singular character and habits of life. The scenes of frontier life on the Holston and the Cumberland have passed away never to be repeated. Henceforth they can be viewed only in their written history. Curiosity alone should prompt a desire on the part of Tennesseans to know who and what sort were the men who, from 1770 to 1800, made Tennessee what it has since been. But there is yet a stronger and better reason why we should look into the records of those old times.

The men and women who planted and cherished civil society in the Western wilderness must have been "true and brave," for no others could have done it. When our young friends shall have read the accounts here given of the dangers and hardships endured by the

early settlers in Tennessee for thirty years, they will agree with us, that a frontier cabin on Watauga or Cumberland was not the place in which to look for faithless and cowardly men. True courage is not the less true, because it is not displayed to the gaze of the world on the broad battle-fields of Blenheim or Waterloo; nor is public spirit less to be admired and revered, because it is employed in defending from savage massacre the women and children of an humble colony in the backwoods.

The fidelity and courage of our ancestors was proved, amid scenes of violence and blood, in defending their liberties and lives against British bayonets and Indian tomahawks. We live in altered circumstances, and may hope that, in our day, the horrors of war shall not again reach our happy land. But should Providence grant us this peaceful destiny, we shall not the less be bound to be "true and brave" men and women. Our virtues must be exercised in a different way, but they will remain still equally essential to constitute our own moral worth, and to promote the welfare and progressive elevation of our country.

"He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit than he

that taketh a city." In the political and social condition of our country at this time, there is much room for the exercise of that moderation and forbearance recommended in the passage of Scripture we have quoted. It is easy to be violent and extreme, but only a "true and brave man" will stand for the right against popular delusions and the threats of powerful factions. To advocate unpopular truth, and to resist the clamors of a multitude persuading to injustice, are the virtues which our times demand, and to practice them to our own loss, requires as great courage as to face a battery of cannon.

You, young readers, will soon have the character of the State and the welfare of the people in your own keeping. But you have no need to wait for that time before you will be called upon to show yourselves "true and brave." Without faithfulness and firmness, you cannot be what you should be now. Except by the exercise of these virtues, you cannot fulfill your present duties to yourselves, your parents, your brothers and sisters, or even to your teacher and school-fellows. If "true and brave" men and women have always been the saviours of the world, be assured that they were not false and

craven when they played football or worked samplers.

Most of the men you will read of in the following pages had little education in schools, many of them none. This was the fault of the age in which they lived, when it was not so common as it now is to enjoy the means of education. Besides, the work in which they were engaged, was such as could be done with very little learning, and their praise is that they did that work well. But you, our young friends, live under a different set of circumstances. You can now all have the advantages of mental cultivation, and in the present state of the world, you can hardly perform the full duty of good citizens without a considerable share of intelligence, such as must be derived from reading and study. May you not fail to meet the demands upon you in a manner worthy of Tennesseans in the nineteenth century, and entitle yourselves to be numbered among the "true and brave" of the coming generation!

CHAPTER II.

OLD TIMES IN TENNESSEE.

THE history of most civilized countries may be divided into ancient and modern. Take any of the principal nations of Europe—Great Britain, France, or Russia, for instance—and historians can give you a tolerably full and correct account of what has happened in any of them lately, especially since the art of printing was invented, about four hundred years ago. But when we go back beyond that time, the information we can get is more scanty and uncertain, and the farther we go back, the more doubtful every thing becomes, until we reach a point of time beyond which nothing is to be known. The history of the Jews, as given in the Bible, is perhaps the most ancient that is known to exist.

But Tennessee and the other States of the American Union have no ancient history. There is no history of the country at all that reaches back beyond the time of its discovery and

settlement by white men from Europe. The Indians that were then found wandering over the country, did not understand the art of printing or writing, nor did they possess any other means of preserving the memory of the events that had happened among them. On this account we cannot expect to know any thing about the people that had lived in America for thousands of years before it was discovered by Columbus. Men of learning and ingenuity have tried very hard, but in vain, to know even a little in regard to the ancient history of this Continent. From several circumstances, it is pretty certain that America was once inhabited by a people more civilized than the Indians; but who they were, or what became of them, we shall probably never know.

The history of America, therefore, begins about three hundred and fifty years ago, and is all modern. The whole of it is found in printed or written accounts, made out by persons who had personal knowledge of the various events that have occurred; and is, therefore, as much to be depended on as any history of any country can be. And as to Tennessee in particular, as a separate community, its history is not a hundred years old, since so long ago there was hardly a

white man within the present boundaries of the State.

Strange as it may seem to boys and girls, it is yet true, that persons are now living in Tennessee, who can remember when the whole country was a wilderness. These persons can tell you of the time when there were only a few log cabins where the rich and splendid city of Nashville now stands; and when the land where Murfreesborough is was covered with a cane-brake, without even a cow-path leading through it. The first white child born in Nashville—Dr. Felix Robertson—died in 1864; and a lady now living has told us that she was a grown young woman when her father made the first settlement in Rutherford county. Where our railroads now run, the traveler, sixty years ago, might think himself fortunate if he could find a blazed path leading from one solitary settlement to another. The grandchildren of that generation probably do not know what is meant by a blazed path. Do you know?

Surrounded as the people of Tennessee now are with all the comforts, and even the luxuries, of life, it must be difficult for them to imagine how the early settlers of the country could contrive to live without any of them. Can our

young readers think how they could get along in a country without railroads, or turnpikes, or roads of any sort? without churches, or school-houses, or dry-goods stores, or even mills to grind corn? without bridges or ferry-boats to cross the streams? How would they manage to live without coffee, or tea, or sugar, and even without bread or salt? And yet, the first settlers of Tennessee did manage to do without all these things, and a great many others, that we are in the habit of considering as necessary to comfortable living. How they actually did live, at least in some particulars, will appear in the course of this history.

It would require several large volumes to contain all that is known of the early history of Tennessee, or even so much of it as may be found scattered through printed books. Of course, we shall here attempt nothing of that kind. Our aim is to tell enough to give to the reader a clear and correct notion of the state of things which existed here among the people who cleared the canebrakes, and waged a successful war against rattlesnakes and Indians. We desire to present all that may serve to make up a faithful picture of frontier life, and nothing more.

CHAPTER III.

ABOUT NORTH CAROLINA.

As the territory composing the present State of Tennessee was formerly a part of North Carolina, it may be well to give, in this place, a short account of the latter State. The "Old North State," as it is frequently called, was among the first of the English settlements in America. According to the charter or deed granted by the King of England, the province was to front a certain distance on the Atlantic Ocean, and to run back westwardly across the Continent to the Pacific Ocean, which was then called the South Sea. However, neither the King of England nor any of his people was at all acquainted with the country, except a few spots along the sea-coast.

The first settlements in Carolina were made, as a matter of course, in the eastern parts, and near to the ocean, where the English ships could reach them, and bring supplies and as-

sistance when needed. The earliest permanent settlement made by the English in the province was in 1663—two hundred and six years ago. In process of time, as the settlers became better acquainted with the interior of the country, new settlements were made at a greater distance from the sea. In the course of about a hundred years, the population extended to the Alleghany Mountains, which are now the western boundary of the State. But, except in some choice spots, North Carolina has never been very thickly settled; and as much of the soil is poor and unproductive, it is not likely to have a dense population for a long time to come.

The first white inhabitants of Carolina were probably all English; but, in the course of time, a great many Scotch, and Dutch, and French, and Irish made it their home. In the eastern part of the province, a large tract of country was taken up by a clan of Scotch Highlanders, and even thirty years ago some of their descendants could scarcely speak the English language. The part of the country where they live is commonly called the sand-hills. A colony of Quakers from Pennsylvania planted themselves in the western portion of the State, and called their settlement New Garden. It is

beyond dispute the best cultivated and most delightful part of the State.

But there is another description of persons among the early population of Carolina which deserves a special notice, because many of the first settlers of Tennessee were of that stock, as well as many of the men most distinguished in its history. I allude to the people called Scotch-Irish. They took this compound name because they were descended from Scotch families, who had, in old times, left Scotland and settled in Ireland. After awhile, a large body of them moved from Ireland to Western Pennsylvania ; and again, many of them went from Pennsylvania, and formed what is still known as the Scotch-Irish settlement in Western Carolina.

The Scotch-Irish, who have not been much educated, or mixed much with the world, may generally be distinguished by certain peculiarities of speech, such as *Aprile*, for April, etc. But all of them are remarkable for their energetic and thrifty habits, and for being able to take good care of themselves. They are also particularly jealous of power, and inclined to resist authority. Those in Pennsylvania were at the head of the "Whisky Rebellion," when Washington was President ; and a similar outbreak,

called the "Regulation," was gotten up by them in North Carolina before the Revolutionary War. James Buchanan, once President of the United States, was a Pennsylvania Scotch-Irishman; and in Tennessee, the names of Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, Hugh L. White, and John Bell, may be referred to Carolina families of the same stock.

Farther, in regard to the Scotch-Irish: they are, or at least were originally, all Presbyterians. Presbyterianism was the religion established by law in Scotland, at the time they removed from that country to the North of Ireland. The people of Ireland were then, and are yet, mostly Roman Catholics. Therefore, when a foreigner tells you he is from the North of Ireland, you may generally conclude that he is a Protestant of the Presbyterian order; but if from any other part of the island, you may expect to find him a Catholic. Perhaps it is well to mention here, that by Protestant, we mean all forms of the Christian religion, except the Catholic. Baptists, Methodists, and Episcopalians, are Protestants, as well as the Presbyterians.

CHAPTER IV.

MORE ABOUT NORTH CAROLINA.

THE different sorts of people who make up the population of North Carolina, as stated in the last chapter, have mingled together until the distinctions among them are mostly worn off. But such was not the case at the time that Tennessee began to be settled by them. Up to that period, and even longer, the Highland Scotch, the Scotch-Irish, the Quakers, and the Dutch, continued to be almost as distinct in their habits and manners as if they did not belong to the same community. Even yet, they have not been so completely amalgamated, or mixed together, as in most other States, for which a reason will presently be given.

On the sea-coast of North Carolina there are no good harbors; that is, there are no places where the water is deep and still close up to the land. The mouths of the rivers are also much filled up with sand-bars. In consequence of

this state of things, large ships cannot safely approach the shore, and therefore there is no considerable sea-port town to carry on foreign commerce. Until lately that some railroads have been built, the people of North Carolina were forced to take their produce in wagons, many of them hundreds of miles, to Charleston, in South Carolina, or to Petersburg and Richmond, in Virginia, and to get home their dry goods and groceries in the same inconvenient and expensive way.

From the circumstances mentioned in the last paragraph, it may be readily supposed that the people of North Carolina have not been greatly addicted to trading in any way. They have been forced to live very much at home and by themselves, and have seen less of the world than the people of the other States. And this is the chief reason why the different classes of the population have remained so long distinct, and retained so much of their original peculiarities. A great deal of trading and moving to and fro among all sorts of folks, will soon bring people to think and act pretty much alike; and the inhabitants of North Carolina have done less of this than most others. For the same reason, perhaps, they are considered

to be more quiet and modest than the people of many other States.

Well, young friends, we suppose you have all heard of Whigs and Tories. And you probably understand that a Tory was an American who took part with the English king and government against the people of the provinces, who were fighting for their freedom and independence, and who were called Whigs. This contest, generally called the Revolutionary War, was begun in the year 1775, and the first battle between the Americans and the English soldiers was fought in that year at Lexington, in the province of Massachusetts. It was in the next year, on the fourth of July, that the Continental Congress declared the provinces—thirteen in number—to be free and independent States. That is the reason why people now celebrate the fourth of July as a great holiday. This Revolutionary War lasted about eight years, at the end of which Great Britain gave up the point, and agreed to let the people of America be independent, and manage their own affairs to suit themselves.

Well, North Carolina was one of the colonies, or provinces, that were engaged in this war against Great Britain, and her people were very much

divided about it. Perhaps there were as many Tories as Whigs, and they carried on very cruel and distressing hostilities against each other—killing, robbing, burning, and destroying, as each party could get the advantage. The Highland Scotch, in the sand-hills, were all Tories to a man, on account of their ignorance, and their having been taught while in Scotland that the king should do as he pleases, and that nobody should resist him. Many others, who had been engaged in the “Regulation” some years before, had been then conquered, and forced to swear that they would be obedient to the King of England. This oath of allegiance, as it is called, they considered to be binding on their consciences, and thought it would be sinful for them to fight against the king.

The Quakers think it contrary to the principles of the Christian religion to fight in any way, or for any cause; therefore, they were neither Whigs nor Tories. They were frequently ill-treated by both parties, but according to their religious views, submitted, without resistance, to whatever injuries might be inflicted upon them. They are generally inoffensive and friendly, industrious and useful citizens. On this account, by the laws of Tennessee, and perhaps other

States, they are exempted from militia duty in time of peace. This is, however, a rather empty compliment, as they are bound, like other citizens, to perform military service in time of war.

From this statement, our young readers will see that all the Tories were not bad men, but that many of them thought they were doing right when they fought for the king, or refused to fight against him. But there were others, who were Tories for what they could make by it, and because they wished to be on the strong side. Of this selfish and unpatriotic class, there were a good many in North Carolina, as well as in the other provinces. The greater part of them left the country upon the establishment of its independence.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT IN TENNESSEE.

It has been before stated that the King of England gave to the first settlers of North Carolina all the country lying to the west of that province, entirely across the Continent to the Pacific Ocean. If any of our young readers should here ask what right the King of England had to give away a country which was then in possession of the Indians, we can only say that such was the fashion of those times. Christian nations thought they had a right, if they could, to take away lands from heathens, who had no knowledge of Christianity. The King of England only did in this matter what all other Christian kings were then in the habit of doing, when they had power and opportunity. After receiving such a grant from the king, the people who undertook to occupy the country, had to get clear of the Indians as best they could.

It has also been mentioned that in about a

hundred years from the time the English took possession of North Carolina, the country had been gradually occupied and cultivated as far west as the Alleghany Mountains. There the settlement of the country was stopped for awhile, because no one desired to make his home in the barren soil and hard climate of the mountains. By looking at a map, you will see that Virginia lies adjoining North Carolina on the north side, and the line between them runs from the Atlantic Ocean due west. This line had been marked only so far as the settlements in the two provinces extended—that is, to the mountains. For this reason, when persons came into the wilderness on the west side of the mountains, they could not be certain whether they were on land belonging to North Carolina or Virginia.

The persons who first crossed the mountains into that part of the country which is now the State of Tennessee, did not come to stay in it, but to hunt and to trade with the Indians. Wild animals were very plentiful, such as bears, deer, foxes, beavers, otters, minks, raccoons, etc. These were easily killed with the rifle, or taken in various sorts of traps, and the skins could be sold for a good price among the

people on the east side of the mountains. But if a man preferred it, he could buy the skins from the Indians for a mere trifle, such as glass beads, cheap knives, fish-hooks, etc. Some of these skins were valuable for the fur that was on them; others were tanned and made into leather.

These hunters and traders, after traveling upon their business until they were satisfied, would pack their skins upon horses, and return to the settled parts of North Carolina and Virginia. Of course, like other travelers, they had marvelous stories to tell of what they had seen and heard. The descriptions they gave of the rich and beautiful country on the west side of the mountains, naturally caused, in those who listened to them, a desire to see and to possess the goodly land. There soon sprung up in Western Carolina and Virginia a feeling of restlessness and a spirit of adventure, very different from the quiet and cautious habits for which the people of those two States have ever been remarkable. So great, however, were the difficulties and dangers of the enterprise, that none but a few of the most daring and reckless among them would, for a good while, trust themselves on this side of the Alleghany ridge.

From the most western settlements in Carolina to the Watauga River, where the first emigrants planted themselves, is not less than seventy miles, across steep and rough mountains, where nobody was then living, and where, even to this time, there are only a few scattered cabins. There were no roads, nor even a beaten pathway, for the whole distance. No provisions were to be had on the route, except what could be carried along on pack-horses, and such wild animals as the hunters could kill with their rifles. And when they had reached the Watauga, they were not at all better off, having neither houses to live in, nor grain to make bread, nor land cleared to make a crop. But worse than all these things, was the danger arising from the Indians by whom they were surrounded in their new homes. I shall speak of these Indians in the next chapter.

The first white man who settled in Tennessee with his family, was Captain William Bean, from Pittsylvania county, Virginia. In the year 1769—just one hundred years ago—he built his cabin on Boon's Creek, a small stream that runs into the Watauga River. His son, Russell Bean, was the first white child born in Tennessee. If you will now look at a map, you

may see that the Watauga River, near the north-east corner of Tennessee, empties into the Holston, on the south side of the latter stream. The Holston rises in Western Virginia, and runs mostly in a western direction. Other persons, with families, soon moved in, and fixed their new homes around Captain Bean's; and thus was Tennessee begun to be settled.

CHAPTER VI.

INDIANS IN TENNESSEE.

AT the time that the Territory of Tennessee was first visited by traders and hunters, it, and also Kentucky, were in a singular condition in regard to human inhabitants. There is no doubt that the whole country had once been occupied by various Indian tribes; but at the time of which we speak, there was no part of it in the actual possession of the red men, except that portion of the present State of Tennessee lying south of Tennessee River. This portion belonged to the Cherokees. By examining a map, you will see that this is the south-east portion of the State, bordering on North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, and comprising less than one-fourth of its surface. This was only a part of the Cherokee lands, as they had extensive possessions in the adjoining province of North Carolina, and in the

territory now constituting the States of Georgia and Alabama.

The country then inhabited by the Cherokee Indians is perhaps the most delightful part of North America; being sufficiently elevated for health, with a fair proportion of hills and plains, well watered, and finely timbered, a fertile soil, and a soft and genial climate. The great French traveler, M. Volney, pronounced it to have the only good climate in America. At the time of the first settlement in East Tennessee, the Cherokees were less powerful than they had formerly been, having just suffered a disastrous defeat, and lost many of their warriors, in a great battle with the Chickasaws. It was, no doubt, fortunate for the young community at Watauga, that these Indians had so lately been whipped.

The Chickasaws did not inhabit any portion of Tennessee, but they claimed to have dominion over all West Tennessee from the Tennessee River to the Mississippi, as their hunting-grounds. As the early emigrants did not come much into contact with the Chickasaws, it is unnecessary to say more about them in this place.

The Shawnees had at one time held the country on the Cumberland River, from about

where Nashville now stands, to the Ohio. They had been engaged almost continually in wars with the Cherokees or Chickasaws. At length, about a hundred years before the settlement of Watauga—according to Indian tradition—the two last-mentioned tribes had combined together, and entirely broken up the Shawnee Nation. Most of them went off and joined some northern tribes called the Six Nations. They still continued, however, to make incursions into the lands they had left, for the purposes of war and hunting. In these expeditions they were assisted by the Six Nations, and thus Kentucky and Tennessee became the “debatable land,” the “dark and bloody ground,” on which were fought the fierce battles between the northern and southern tribes.

As neither of the parties was able to hold quiet and permanent possession of these lands, the one kept on the south, and the other on the north, of the disputed territory, and only came into it occasionally to hunt, or to attack the hunters of the hostile tribes. In this way it happened, according to the best accounts that could be gotten from the Indians, that the first visitors from Carolina and Virginia found Tennessee and Kentucky

a wilderness without human inhabitant, except the Cherokees in one corner, as has been before stated. Whether this is the true account or not, it is a singular and important fact, that just when the people of Virginia and Carolina were ready to take possession of the country, the former owners had retired from nearly the whole of it.

The lands thus left vacant were among the most fertile on the Continent. The abundance of grass, cane, and other spontaneous productions of the earth, would, of course, support countless numbers of wild animals, and furnish, perhaps, the most plentiful hunting-grounds that have ever existed anywhere. The absence of resident Indians, together with the favorable climate and rich soil, allowed the buffalo, bear, deer, and turkeys to multiply to the fullest extent; so that the pioneer settlers had nothing to do but "slay and eat."

CHAPTER VII.

CHARACTER OF THE INDIANS.

PROBABLY most of our young readers have heard frequent descriptions of Indians, and some of them have perhaps seen one or more of the few that still wander about the country. They are frequently called red men, on account of the color of their skin, which is pretty much like that of a copper cent or a brass skillet. They are generally not large men, seldom weighing more than one hundred and fifty pounds. They are straight and slender, their limbs very trim and tapering, with small hands and feet. Their bones are rather small, and they have less muscular strength than white men or negroes; but they are nimble and wiry, and able to travel on foot with great ease and rapidity.

The Indians all have dark eyes, with a keen and sly look. They are not inclined to talk much, and when they do, usually express them-

selves in a short and abrupt manner. From nature or practice, or from both, they are capable of concealing their feelings much more than white men. However sudden or alarming a circumstance may happen in the presence of an Indian, if he chooses, he can behave just as if he knew nothing about it. In the greatest agony of body or mind, he can appear as calm as a sleeping infant. It is a point of honor with him to endure any degree of torture that can be inflicted without complaint or flinching.

There are, perhaps, no cowards among Indians, yet their notion of courage is not the same as that of white men. When engaged in open and declared war, it is true that white men, as well as Indians, will deceive their enemies, if they can, by tricks and stratagems. But if a white man, by pretending peace and friendship, should seek an opportunity to do his enemy a mischief, he would feel that he was doing a mean and cowardly action. But the Indian has no such convictions. He would gain entrance into the house of a frontier settler to beg a morsel of meat to keep him from starving, and then murder the mother and children, and burn the cabin over their dead bodies. And this he would do when he and

his tribe were professing to be the friends of the white man.

Of all human beings, the American Indian is, perhaps, the most revengeful. An injury done to himself or any of his tribe, he never either forgets or forgives; and in seeking to gratify this feeling, it seems to be immaterial to him whether he wreaks his vengeance on the offender himself, or some one of the nation to which he belongs. Men of all nations indulge this passion of revenge more than good Christians should do, but civilized white men only entertain resentment against the individual who offers the injury or insult. They feel no inclination to retaliate upon his family or friends, and still less upon those who are merely his countrymen. In this respect, however, most savage nations resemble, in some degree, the Indian, though in no other has the passion appeared to be so intense and overruling.

The Indian is very averse to labor; that is, to any kind of labor which, among us, is called work. In hunting or in war, he will undergo fatigue and hardship to a marvelous extent; but any thing like labor in the field or the workshop, he seems both unwilling and

unable to endure. The Spaniards, in the West India Islands, attempted to make the Indians perform the work of slaves, but soon discovered that the little labor which they could force upon them was more than they could bear. The natives died off rapidly under this system, and the Spaniards resorted to Africa for negroes to take their place. The little corn-patches and gardens among the Indians are cultivated almost entirely by the females, whom they call *squaws*.

The Indian man spends his time in beastly laziness and sleep, except when engaged in war or the chase. All the work about his dirty hut, or *wigwam*, is performed by the females, assisted sometimes by the prisoners he may have taken in war. Occasionally he spends a half-idle day in making or mending the clumsy instruments which he is to use in the battle or the hunt, but proudly disdains to be employed in any thing but bringing home venison and scalps. This description is intended to apply to Indians in their original, savage state. Those of them who have had much intercourse with the whites, have been furnished with guns, powder, and lead, as well as with other things, which they have not the

art nor the industry to make. Still, the Indian character remains; and, except the fire-arms, they show very little disposition to use the tools of the white man.

Can the Indians be civilized, and brought to practice agriculture and the useful arts of life, to such a degree as to form permanent and prosperous communities? This question has engaged the attention of some of the wisest and best men amongst us. So far as experience can teach any thing upon this point, the results have not been favorable; and the general impression of the American people is, that "an Indian will be an Indian," in despite of all attempts to improve him. Many of the tribes, that were numerous and powerful a hundred years ago, have entirely disappeared; and we can reasonably expect for them no other future destiny, than that they will continue to decline, until, at no very distant day, the whole race will become extinct.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHARACTER OF THE FIRST WHITE SETTLERS.

AT the time the earliest emigrants made the settlement at Watauga, neither North Carolina nor Virginia was crowded with people. The emigrants that left those States were under no necessity of doing so in order to get homes. Land in both places was cheap and plentiful, and even to this time they have more waste-land than is to be found in Tennessee.

In such circumstances, it may seem strange to our young readers that men should emigrate at all. While they could have lands and homes among kindred and friends, why should they expose themselves to the hardships and dangers of a new country? While they could stay at home in safety, why should they plunge into a wilderness among wild beasts and ferocious savages?

Well, though it may appear unreasonable to

young persons without much experience, it is just like many things that boys frequently do without asking the reason why. It is the same spirit that causes them to quit a snug room and a warm fire and roam through the woods on a cold and dark night, tumbling over logs and into gullies, and getting scratched with brush and briars, that they may have a chance to see a fight between a dog and a 'coon. It is just the love of excitement and action—the spirit of adventure.

Ease and comfort are good things to some men and boys, but there are others who prefer change and novelty, even at the risk of danger and hardship. It is right that it should be so; and the world has always had in it both classes of persons—the easy and the active, the cautious and the bold. The one class is useful to prevent things from going too fast, while the other is sure to make them go fast enough; the one keeps things moving, while the other keeps them steady. The best character for a man is to have just enough of both qualities, as George Washington had.

Every one will readily understand that it was the most active and bold among the people of Carolina and Virginia that first came to Ten-

nessee. Those whose motto was to "let well enough alone," stayed where they were born. For a similar reason, men of wealth were not among the early emigrants; for those who owned a large property would be unwilling to risk it in a wild country. Those who held high offices, or had great family influence in the old provinces, did not come, for, by removing, they must have lost these advantages. From the nature of the case, the men who laid the foundation of the State of Tennessee were poor, but active, hardy, and brave—men fit for the work they had to do.

The early settlers were, none of them, men of much education; and, indeed, had they been scholars, their learning would have been useless in a country where there were no books, and nothing to be done which could be helped by a knowledge of them. The celebrated Daniel Boone visited the Watauga country, though he did not stay there, but went to Kentucky. He carved on the bark of a beech-tree a record, informing those who might follow, that he had "cilled A BAR," in that place; and Boone was probably not much behind other pioneers in the matter of spelling. But, like the others, he had a good rifle and a quick eye, a keen ax

and a strong arm, and withal, a brave heart, to struggle with the privations and dangers of the wilderness.

Two noble traits of character were, almost of necessity, formed by the condition in which the emigrants were placed. These were a feeling of sympathy and a sense of social equality. Where all were equally liable, at any moment, to need the aid of the others, this feeling of equality and sympathy must grow up. Where the best efforts of every man and woman in the community were felt to be barely sufficient to procure subsistence and safety for all and for each one, no one could be disregarded as worthless or inferior. Besides, in a state of things where the means and the manner of living were the same to all, there could be no room for that silly affectation of superior style, which we sometimes see in older communities. Let us be glad that so much of the old equality and brotherhood is still left among the people of our noble State.

CHAPTER IX.

PROGRESS OF THE WATAUGA SETTLEMENT.

THE pioneers who had fixed themselves at Watauga, as stated in the fifth chapter, were soon busy in trying to make themselves safe and comfortable. After building a cabin to protect themselves from the inclemency of the weather, the next grand object was to clear a piece of ground for a crop of corn. Until they could raise a crop, they must either do without bread, or bring a supply from Carolina and Virginia, across the mountains on pack-horses. When it must have cost so much time and toil to get it, we may suppose that corn-bread was a rarity and a dainty at Watauga.

Indeed, when they were so lucky as to have a little corn, they could scarcely have bread, for the want of mills to grind the grain into meal. And now, young reader—you who have just risen from your nice and plentiful breakfast, where you had hoe-cake, and batter-bread,

and biscuit besides—how do you suppose the boys and girls of those days managed to eat their corn? Certainly not raw, as a hog or a horse does; but they would boil it like our hominy, or else roast it in an oven, if they had one, if not, in the hot ashes, and then crack the grains with their teeth. In those hard times, well-provided and happy was the boy that had a pocketful of parched corn.

As to a plenty of meat, and that of the best, there was no difficulty at all. Whoever had a rifle, and powder, and lead, might take his choice of bear-meat, venison, turkey, and sometimes buffalo; to say nothing of squirrels, partridges, and other small game. Fish were also plentiful in all the streams, and might be easily caught in various ways. Wild geese and ducks also abounded, wherever there was water for them to swim in. Now, if any boy who reads this should be wishing that he had been there to fish and to hunt, let him remember that he must have eaten those good things for his dinner frequently without bread, and sometimes without salt, and perhaps he would change his mind.

While those who had already planted themselves at Watauga were thus employed in en-

deavoring to improve their new homes, other emigrants continued to arrive from Virginia, South Carolina, and North Carolina, but chiefly from the province last mentioned. However, they did not come in crowds, with all the means of opening and cultivating large farms, as they now go into Kansas, and Nebraska, and other frontier countries. There were no roads leading to Watauga, and steamboats had not then been invented; and besides, there was no traveling by water across the Alleghany Mountains. The emigrants came mostly on foot, with a horse or two to carry the old women and young children, with some provisions for the journey, and a few articles for housekeeping.

Every new-comer was received with a hearty welcome, and the whole settlement would at once turn out to build him a cabin. The men who did the work were not carpenters, and they had neither plank nor nails to build with. But with such instruments as an ax and an auger, they managed to construct, out of the trees that stood around, such a shelter as might protect a family from rain and snow. In a few days, the *strangers* would be at home, and ready to do their part toward helping to settle the next that should arrive.

Among those who joined the Watauga settlement about this time, (in the year 1771,) were two men who became afterward particularly distinguished in the early history of Tennessee. These were John Sevier and James Robertson. Sevier's father was an Englishman, born in London, who came to Virginia, and afterward to East Tennessee. Robertson was from Wake county, North Carolina, who, after spending some years at Watauga, settled the first white colony in Middle Tennessee. We may also mention the names of John Carter, from Virginia, and Charles Robertson, from South Carolina, among the men of note in the young community.

CHAPTER X.

THE CONDITION OF THINGS IN NORTH CAROLINA.

IN order that our readers may better understand what we have farther to tell about the settlement of East Tennessee, we must try to make them acquainted with certain important matters that were then going on in North Carolina.

Well, what is commonly called the Revolutionary War was about to begin. This was, as we have before stated, a war between the kingdom of Great Britain on one side, and her American provinces on the other side. These provinces were thirteen in number, all bordering on the Atlantic Ocean, and all lying on the east of the Alleghany Mountains. They were New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. They were called provinces, or colonies, until

after the war, and then took the name of States. They were governed by the laws of Great Britain, and had each a governor and other officers appointed by the king.

This is not a proper place to explain the causes of the Revolutionary War, or to give a history of its events. When you are a little older, you can read all about it in many books of American history. It is enough to say here, that the fighting commenced in the year 1775, though the quarrel began several years before. In North Carolina especially, the people had been so much oppressed by unjust taxes, that in 1771, they refused to pay them, and determined to resist the authority of the royal governor. This resistance was called the "Regulation," and brought on a battle at Alamance, in which the "Regulators" were defeated by the troops under the command of Governor Tryon.

After the battle of Alamance, Governor Tryon determined to punish all the persons engaged in the "Regulation," or else compel them to take an oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain. To get out of his power, a good many of them crossed the mountains, and took refuge among the people at Watauga. And so this

disturbance in North Carolina helped to increase the settlements west of the mountains more rapidly than would have happened otherwise.

As all the provinces were ill-treated by the British Government, in one way or another, at length they all agreed to choose some of their best and wisest men, to meet together in Philadelphia, and try to provide some remedy. This assembly of men was called the Continental Congress, and after consulting together, they concluded it was best to throw off the British Government altogether, and become separate and independent States. This they did by a declaration, made and published on the 4th of July, 1776.

Having thus rejected the royal government, the people of North Carolina, as well as of the other provinces, were without any regular government at all. This, you know, is a bad state of things; for even a family or a school cannot prosper without laws, and somebody to exercise authority. So the people of Carolina met together, in counties and neighborhoods, and appointed men to manage matters as well as they could, until they should have time to make a new government, and establish laws to suit

themselves in place of the English laws. The men so appointed were generally called "committees of public safety."

While the province was under the rule of Great Britain, the governor used to appoint men called Indian agents to stay amongst the Cherokees and other tribes, and endeavor to make them friendly with the white people. These men, being appointed and paid by the royal governor, were opposed to the Whigs, or Revolutionary party, and therefore tried to stir up the Indians to make war upon the frontier settlers, while the king was sending his armies across the ocean to subdue the provinces, and force them to submit to his authority.

In the fourth chapter I told you there were a great many *Tories* in Carolina. Well, these Tories did their best to help the King of England and his generals to conquer the Whigs. In the many fights that happened between them, the Tories would sometimes have to run off, and even to leave the province, in order to save their lives. Many of them went amongst the Cherokees; and as they hated the Whigs, they would try to persuade the Indians to hate them too, and to make war upon the western settlements. You can easily see that the Whigs of Carolina,

having the British and the Tories on their hands at home, would have little power to protect the young settlements in East Tennessee. These were, therefore, left to take care of themselves as best they could.

CHAPTER XI.

EXTENSION OF THE WESTERN SETTLEMENTS.

SHORTLY after Watauga was settled, a man named Brown, from North Carolina, took up his abode upon the Nolichucky River, a stream that runs into the Holston farther south and west than the Watauga. Several other families went with him, and they all built their cabins near together on the northern bank of the river. Brown and his companions bought as much land as they all wanted from the Cherokees, for a small parcel of goods, which he brought with him from Carolina on a pack-horse.

About the same time, John Carter and a small company of emigrants fixed themselves in what is still called Carter's Valley, not far from the present town of Rogersville. This valley was then supposed to belong to Virginia, and the first settlers were from that province. Emigrants continued to arrive at all these settlements, chiefly from Virginia and North Car-

olina. None of the Indian towns were very near them, and the Cherokees were quite peaceful and friendly toward their white neighbors. Indeed, they were well pleased to have persons among them with whom they could trade their skins and furs for guns, blankets, knives, etc.

When the white men took possession of the lands on the Watauga, they did not ask the consent of the Cherokees, or anybody else. They occupied the territory, just because nobody else was there to interfere with them. The Indians did not live nearer than a hundred miles from it, yet they claimed the whole country as their hunting-grounds. To satisfy the Cherokees, and to keep them in a friendly mood, the people of Watauga agreed to pay them goods to the value of several thousand dollars, for the privilege of living on the lands for a certain number of years. This was called leasing the land; but the white men knew very well if they could hold it a few years, they could keep it always afterward.

Well, a day was appointed for the head men of the Cherokees to come to Watauga, and complete the bargain about the land. At the same time and place it was understood that

there was to be a horse-race. A race is sure to bring in all the scamps and rowdies that are in reach of it, and upon this occasion, there were some of this sort from the frontiers of Virginia. In the course of the day, some of these Virginians, with little or no provocation, shot and killed one of the Cherokees. We have told you before how revengeful all Indians are, and the white people at Watauga had good reason to dread what would happen as soon as news of the murder should be carried to the Cherokee Nation.

In this alarming state of things, James Robertson proposed that he and another man would go to the Cherokee towns, and endeavor to make up the matter. They went accordingly, at the great risk of their lives, and by explaining, persuading, and promising to punish the murderers, when they could catch them, they at length succeeded in pacifying the Indians, and preventing them from attacking the settlement. In this business Mr. Robertson proved himself to be a man of uncommon prudence, courage, and public spirit; and ever after, the people of Watauga looked to him for protection and guidance in all difficulties.

Up to this time the settlers had no quarrel

with the Indians, and all the sensible men among them had been very cautious not to give offense to those who could so easily have destroyed the weak and unprotected settlements. Although the great danger, arising from this foolish murder, was happily warded off by the good management chiefly of Robertson, yet it was not long before the Cherokees began to entertain a bad feeling toward the white people, and that without any fault of the latter. This change was brought about by the Indian agents of the King of England, the Tories, and bad men who had gone amongst the Cherokees to avoid being punished for their crimes in the provinces.

CHAPTER XII.

INDIAN WARFARE.

DURING the year 1775, Indian traders, coming into the white settlements, gave notice to the inhabitants that the Cherokees were about to attack them. This, of course, produced great alarm on the frontiers, especially on the Watauga, and Nolichucky, and in Carter's Valley, which were the most advanced settlements, and nearest to the Indian towns. The people at these places began at once to make what preparation they could to defend themselves against the enemy. One of the first things thought of was to build stations, and to bring all the inhabitants into them for protection.

Well, what is a station? or rather, what was it? for there are no stations in the country now. It was just a picket-fence, made of stakes eight or ten feet long, set close together in the ground, and sharpened at top, so that the Indians could not climb over them. With this

sort of fence a piece of ground was inclosed, perhaps half an acre in extent, and inside of it cabins were built, sufficient to hold all the people. For a considerable distance round this inclosure the cane and other small growth were cleared away, so that an Indian could not get near to it without being seen.

In building stations, they frequently made cabins close together, so that their walls might answer in place of the picket-fence or stockade. In these walls they cut small holes, through which they could put their rifles and shoot the Indians, while they themselves were safe behind the wall of logs. These were frequently called port-holes, and houses thus built, block-houses. It was a great object in these stations to have running water in the inclosure, or at least in the cleared space around it. At one time there were a great many of these stations in East and Middle Tennessee, but they have all been removed, or have rotted down, and only a few old settlers can now tell exactly where any of them stood.

Whenever they had reason to expect an immediate attack by the Indians, all the settlers, with their families, would try to get into one of these stations, carrying with them whatever of

their property they could, and all the provisions they might have on hand. It would frequently happen that they would be confined in the station for several weeks at a time, without any chance to procure food of any sort, and forced to depend on the supply they might have on hand. When they would be ready to starve, some of the men would leave the station by night, and steal through the surrounding Indians, at the great hazard of their lives, to get provisions or other assistance from any other station or settlement in reach.

When the Indians would find that the white people had gone into a station, they frequently went off without making any attack, and contented themselves with burning the cabins, and carrying off the horses and other property of the settlers. Sometimes, however, they would undertake to set fire to the stockade and block-houses, and to shoot and kill the men through the cracks between the logs. In this work they were not often successful, and as they were fully exposed to the fire of the riflemen within, many of them would be killed in such attempts. A more usual course with them was to lurk about the place, and cut off all who might attempt to leave the station, and in

that way endeavor to starve the party into a surrender.

It was a practice with the Indians to carry off the dead bodies of their warriors killed in battle, in order to conceal their loss. In performing this duty, as they considered it, many of them were killed, who otherwise might have escaped. Another custom of the Indian warrior was to scalp his dead enemy—that is, to take off a piece of the skin of the head with the hair on it. This he would keep in his wigwam as a proof of his warlike exploits; and he was the proudest warrior of his tribe who could show the longest string of such memorials.

This practice of taking scalps among the Indians was not always confined to the slain. They would sometimes scalp women and children, whom, for some reason, they did not choose to kill; and persons were often scalped who recovered from the injury and lived to die of old age. A laughable story is somewhere told of an Indian attempting to scalp a Frenchman who wore a wig. The savage seized him by the hair, but before he could use his scalping-knife, the wig came off, and the Frenchman ran away, leaving the astonished Indian with the strange thing in his hands.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CHEROKEES ATTACK THE SETTLEMENTS.

EARLY in the next year, (1776,) the people of Watauga received certain information that the Cherokees were prepared to march against them in considerable numbers. The plan of attack was understood to be, that the Indians would be divided into several bands, and march against the several stations and settlements at the same time. In the distress produced by this news, messengers were sent without delay into the western counties of Virginia and North Carolina, to get what assistance they could to defend the feeble colonies at Watauga, Nolichucky, and along the Holston. About a hundred men, in five small companies, principally from Virginia, immediately started across the mountains, and arrived at Watauga before the Indians.

After reaching the western settlements, the officers commanding these troops thought it

would be best to go forward, and meet the Indians on their way, instead of waiting till they should be attacked in the stations. The troops from Virginia and Carolina had been joined by all the men on the frontiers who could be spared from the stations, and the whole force amounted to about one hundred and seventy-five men. Near a place called the Island Flats, they met a party of the advancing Indians, about four hundred in number. A hard battle immediately commenced, in which the whites were finally victorious, killing about forty of the Cherokee warriors. Several of the white men were wounded, but not one killed.

This first battle between the Tennessee settlers and the Cherokees was fought on the 20th of July, 1776. The victory obtained by the white men had a very good influence both upon themselves and upon their savage enemies. It gave courage and confidence to the whites, so that from that time they never feared to meet any number of Indians in battle. It also convinced the Cherokees that they were no match for the Western riflemen, and that the settlements defended by such men were dangerous places in which to look for scalps. It did not, however, cure them of their revengeful and

blood-thirsty disposition, nor prevent them from skulking about and murdering the whites at every sly opportunity.

Another party of Cherokees had taken a different route, intending to attack the settlements of Watauga and Nolichucky. The settlers at the latter place had left their homes, and crowded into the Watauga Station, which contained not less than one hundred and seventy persons—men, women, and children—when the Indians made their appearance. They attempted to storm the fort in the usual way, but were beaten off, and a good many of them killed by the riflemen within. They remained lurking about the place for several days, and then departed.

While the Indians were in the neighborhood of Watauga, a man named Cooper and a boy went out of the stockade to get some timber from the woods. The man was killed and scalped by the Indians lying in wait. The boy was made prisoner, carried to the Indian towns, and burned to death. Another man was killed while trying to get into the fort by night, and a woman—Mrs. Bean—was taken prisoner. It is not known what became of her, nor is it anywhere mentioned whether or not she was the

wife of Captain Bean, the first settler at Watauga.

But still another gang of the Indians were more successful in their inroad. They pushed for the scattered dwellings lower down the Holston, whose inhabitants had not taken refuge in any station. They killed and scalped every human being in their route, at the same time burning the houses and destroying the growing corn. They did not stop in their destructive course till they reached a settlement called the Wolf Hills, in Western Virginia. They there murdered several persons, but were at length driven off by the men at Black's Station, near where the town of Abingdon now stands.

In the neighborhood of Black's Station lived a preacher by the name of Cummings. At the time the Indians were committing mischief in that quarter, Mr. Cummings and his negro man, in company with three others, were at work in a field. They were fired upon by the Indians, and one of the men was killed and two others were wounded. Mr. Cummings and his servant attacked the savages in their hiding-place, and forced them to retreat. This Mr. Cummings used to ride to his log meeting-house on Sunday morning, with his rifle on his shoulder.

Upon getting into the pulpit, he would set it in a corner, ready to snatch it up on any alarm. He thought it as necessary, in those times, to watch and fight, as to pray and preach; and he seems to have been good at all these exercises.

CHAPTER XIV.

INVASION OF THE INDIAN TOWNS.

AFTER the events related in the foregoing chapter, the Cherokees seemed to be in a very ill humor with their white neighbors in East Tennessee. They retired to their towns, but continued to send out marauding bands to molest the settlements, and to steal horses and take scalps, wherever they could, without exposing themselves to the aim of the frontier rifleman. To put a stop to these outrages, a small army from Virginia, under command of Colonel Christian, and another from North Carolina, under Colonel Williams, marched to the Holston, where they encamped for a few days. Here they were joined by the men from Watauga, and some other stations, until the entire army amounted to about eighteen hundred men.

At the head of these troops, Colonel Christian set out for the Cherokee towns. Until they were near French Broad River, they heard

nothing from the Indians; but they were there met by an Indian trader, with a message from the Cherokees, warning them not to attempt to cross that river, as a thousand warriors were assembled there to dispute the passage. Not at all daunted by this bravado, Colonel Christian continued to advance, and upon arriving at the river, was astonished to find the Indian camp totally deserted. The story is, that a white trader among them had persuaded the Cherokees that it was vain to oppose the white invaders, and that their only chance of safety was to retreat to their strongholds in the mountains.

The army continued its march in a southwestwardly direction toward the Little Tennessee River, where the most important and populous Cherokee towns were situated. Here Colonel Christian expected to encounter the whole Indian force, and was very careful not to be surprised. But he was again disappointed, as not a single Cherokee warrior was to be found. None but a few helpless old men, squaws, and children were left in the villages. The fighting men of the whole nation had been seized with a panic, and thought of nothing but hiding themselves.

As Colonel Christian could not bring his army within shooting distance of the red men, the next best thing to be done was to burn and destroy their towns, provisions, and crops. This was no doubt an unpleasant business for the brave and generous men who composed that army, but it was necessary to convince the Indians that they would not be allowed to harass the settlements without being made to suffer for it in their turn. Some of the towns that were known to be peaceable were spared, which would farther convince all that it was their interest to be friendly toward the settlements.

Finding no farther work for them to do, Colonel Christian disbanded his army, and the men returned to their homes. But in their expedition, they had enjoyed the opportunity of visiting and examining the most attractive portion of East Tennessee. Many of them went back to Virginia and Carolina, only to bring their families to new homes, which they had already selected on the western frontier. The reports which they carried with them, of the richness of the land, and the beauty of the country, had a powerful effect in exciting the spirit of emigration among their friends and

neighbors, and, for a short time, the population of the Watauga, and other western settlements, was rapidly increased.

And here, young readers, we would call upon you to notice that, although Colonel Christian's army had every thing in their power at the Cherokee towns, there is no instance of any injury done by them to the women and children of their savage enemies. And this, we believe, will hold true in all their subsequent conflicts with the Indians. Many of them had seen their sisters, wives, and helpless children murdered, scalped, tortured, and burnt by the Indians, and naturally became Indian-haters. They pursued their warrior enemies with a fierce and unrelenting vengeance, but never did one of them so far forget his manhood as to inflict even a blow upon a squaw or a child.

Another thing to be observed concerning these Indian wars is, that there were no Tories among the people in the western settlements. It was well understood that the savages were instigated and furnished with arms, to make war upon the frontiers, by the agents of the British Government residing among them. This produced the natural effect of causing the

western people to become very hostile to the English King, and all who supported him. There was probably not a Tory west of the mountains, except a few who had taken refuge and lived among the Indian tribes.

CHAPTER XV.

GOVERNMENT OF THE WESTERN COMMUNITIES.

It has been mentioned before that East Tennessee was a part of the province or State of North Carolina, and under its authority. But in fact, North Carolina did not, and could not, for a long time, pay attention to the condition of the people west of the mountains. All the resources of the province, all the men and money it could raise, were required for the Revolutionary War, in which it was engaged, against the British and the Tories in the eastern or Atlantic part of the province. The western settlements were not willfully neglected, but left alone for the want of power to cherish and protect them.

But a community cannot prosper, or even preserve its existence for any length of time, without some sort of government, and some authority to which all must submit. In their difficult situation, the people of Watauga met

together, and made a written agreement about the management of their affairs, which has been called the "Watauga Association." They elected thirteen men as commissioners to manage the affairs of the community, and five men as a court to settle all disputes that might arise among individuals. And for about five years, the Watauga settlement was well governed, and the rights of all the people secured, without laws, or judges, or juries, or sheriffs.

They must have been uncommon men who could thus be governed by their own consent and agreement, without any authority over them. And so they were—men full of honesty, prudence, and desire to promote the public good. If there were any of a different character, they could do nothing against the influence and example of such men as John Sevier, James Robertson, Charles Robertson, John Carter, and Zach. Isbell, who were the members of the court. It is in times of difficulty and danger that men of real virtue and talent exercise a natural and useful control over others.

The people of Watauga had given to their settlement the name of WASHINGTON District, considering it as a part of North Carolina. There are now perhaps hundreds of counties

and towns in the United States that bear the honored name of the "Father of his country;" but, so far as we can learn, this little colony in East Tennessee is the first on the list. At that time, George Washington had just been appointed Commander-in-chief of the American Armies in the Revolutionary War. Their choosing this name, above all others, is very good proof of the strong Whig spirit of these western people.

In the early part of the year 1776, a memorial or petition was addressed to the "Honorable Provincial Council of North Carolina," signed by the commissioners of Watauga, and one hundred other persons. In that memorial they explained their condition, and the reasons which had forced them to set up a temporary government without the authority of the parent province. They denied any intention of becoming independent of North Carolina, and expressed a strong desire to have its laws extended to the western settlements, and regular officers appointed to administer them. They declared, in earnest language, their readiness to take part with Carolina in the Revolutionary struggle which was then going on, and to bear their part of the taxes and other burdens of the war.

In consequence of this memorial, the Legislature of North Carolina so far took notice of the settlements west of the mountains, as to throw them all together under the name of *Washington County*, and allow them to send delegates to a convention then about to assemble at Halifax. The delegates from Washington county were Charles Robertson, John Carter, John Haile, and John Sevier. The Convention or Provincial Congress met accordingly, and adopted a Constitution of Government for the *State* of North Carolina, including the western colonies under the new name of Washington county.

The next year, the General Assembly of North Carolina passed a law regulating the militia of Washington county, and providing for the appointment of justices of the peace and other officers in the same. The Assembly also laid off the boundaries of the county—and how large do you suppose they made it? Why, it was just as large as the whole State of Tennessee, as it now is, reaching from the Alleghany Mountains on the east to the Mississippi River on the west. As the country has become settled, this one county has been divided and subdivided until there are now eighty-four counties in the State.

CHAPTER XVI.

WASHINGTON COUNTY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

WE must now drop the names of Watauga, Nolichucky, etc., and speak of all the settlements in East Tennessee under the one name that they had received from the General Assembly of North Carolina. We shall proceed to notice several regulations, made by the Legislature of that State, for the benefit of the settlers on the Tennessee side of the mountains.

Among the first and most important of these regulations, was one allowing every head of a family in the western territory to have six hundred and forty acres of land for himself, one hundred for his wife, and one hundred more for every one of his children. So that if a man had a wife and five children, he could have twelve hundred and forty acres of good land, just by going to live on it. And this he could have wherever he chose, provided no other person had settled on it before him. A great part

of the land thus given away would now sell for fifty dollars per acre.

At the same time, a law was passed to provide for keeping up a body of soldiers called "Rangers," for the protection of the western frontier. They were so called, because it was their duty to *range* along the outside settlements, and kill or drive off any skulking Indians they could find. They were generally mounted on horses, and so were able to move rapidly from one place to another. These Rangers received their pay, not in money—for the State of North Carolina had none—but in western land. In this way, every man, though not the head of a family, had a chance to procure a fine tract of land, by serving in the militia.

The Legislature of North Carolina, in the same year, appointed commissioners to mark out a wagon-road, from some convenient point in Washington county, into Burke county, on the east side of the mountains. This was the first road ever made in Tennessee, and it was a long time before that became what we would now call a good one. Before that, the emigrants, on foot or on horseback, just followed the *blazed* path, which the hunters and traders

had first traveled. Even now a road across the mountains must turn and wind about, in all directions, in order to avoid those parts of the ground that are too steep to be passed over.

Though the Rangers were not able to prevent all hostile inroads on the part of the Cherokees, yet the settlements became much more secure than they had been. On this account, as well as because of the favorable terms upon which land could be obtained, a great many families, about this time, crossed the mountains into the new settlements. They were mostly poor men who came, with nothing but stout hearts and strong arms to make their way in the world. However, as soon as the wagon-road was opened, some men of considerable property were found among the emigrants.

The rapid increase of the population caused the Legislature of North Carolina, in 1779, to establish another county on the north of the Watauga settlement. The new county was called Sullivan, in honor of General Sullivan, of the Continental Army. Isaac Shelby was appointed Colonel of Sullivan county, as John Carter was of Washington. A militia colonel was then a much more important character than he is now. In this same year, the first meeting-

house was built in Tennessee, on Buffalo Ridge, near Watauga. A Baptist preacher, named Lane, ministered to the congregation assembled in that probably first place of Protestant worship in the great valley of the Mississippi.

As the courts were held in private houses—that is, log-cabins—it is not likely that this first church in the wilderness was a very fine building, nor that it was attended by people very finely dressed. We are not informed upon that subject, but feel pretty sure that the women did not wear hoops—certainly not large ones. The men probably wore hunting-shirts in place of cloth coats, with pantaloons made of dressed buckskin, and moccasins of the raw hide on their feet. Their hats were probably made at home of fox, or rabbit, or 'coon skins, the young men having the hair outside for the sake of show, and the old men preferring it on the inside to keep their heads warm. If any of our young readers do not know what a hunting-shirt is, let them ask their grandfathers.

In this year also, under authority of the General Assembly, the town of Jonesborough was laid off, and established as the county town, or seat of justice, of Washington county. Its name was intended as a compliment to Willie

Jones, of Halifax, N. C. This gentleman was a wealthy and patriotic Whig, who, as a member of the General Assembly, had exerted himself to promote the welfare of the western settlements, and, on that account, had the honor of giving name to the first town laid off by white men in Tennessee.

CHAPTER XVII.

TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS AND TORIES.

THE great increase, about this time, in the number of settlers, and the security produced by the watchfulness and activity of the Rangers, had caused the people to be too careless, and to venture too far into the Indian country. Among others, a man named Lewis built his cabin high up the Watauga River, and at a considerable distance from any other settlers. The Cherokees made an attack upon this family, murdered Mr. Lewis, his wife, and seven children, and burned his house. One of the children—a daughter—was made prisoner, and afterward was purchased from her Indian owner for a gun.

Several disasters of this kind having happened, the Governor of North Carolina appointed James Robertson as commissioner to visit the Indian towns, and endeavor to make some arrangements to prevent such mischief for

the future. He went accordingly, but failed to do much good among them. Some of the tribes were disposed to be peaceable, but others were evidently sullen and hostile. Of the latter class may be specially mentioned the Chickamaugas, under the influence of a fierce chief whose name, in English, was Dragging Canoe. All names among the Indians have a meaning; so indeed they have in all languages, but we cannot always trace them back far enough to find out what is that meaning.

The difficulty of coming upon good terms with the Indians was owing chiefly to the influence of the Tories, and of the agents of the English King who resided among the Cherokees. Not only in East Tennessee, but along the western frontier of Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, the same sort of savage hostilities was carried on. In addition to the natural jealousy and revengeful disposition of the savages, they were persuaded by these agents that the British Government would protect them, and prevent the white settlements from being carried farther west, if the Indians would do their part, and help the king to conquer his rebellious provinces. They were liberally furnished with guns and ammunition to

enable, and, at the same time, to bribe them, to assist in the work of conquest.

These agents of the British Government kept themselves generally beyond the reach of the injured and exasperated people of the frontier; and besides, as they belonged to a nation with which our country was at open war, they could only have been taken and kept as prisoners. Not so, however, with the Tories, who were not considered as subjects of the King of England so much as traitors and outlaws, who were making war upon their native country and their fellow-citizens. True, when these were made prisoners in battle, they were generally treated in the same manner as their English allies; but such of them as were caught, not under command of a British officer, killing and robbing the Whigs, were shot and hung with very little ceremony.

In the turmoil of the Revolution, and distant as were the frontier settlements from the seat of government on the eastern sea-board, the inhabitants of the western counties were tempted to take the law into their own hands, and to protect themselves in the most speedy and effectual way against the mischievous and murderous practices of the Tories. The people of

Watauga formed themselves into companies, which would now be called "Lynchers," or "Vigilance Committees," and hunted the Tories as they would so many wolves. They did this, not only because they considered the Tories as the enemies of their country, but because it was the only way to save their own lives and property.

Up toward the head of Watauga, a Tory named Grimes had established himself, with several companions, and had attacked some of the nearest Whig families, and killed at least one man. A company from Watauga, under the lead of Captain Bean, Robertson, and Sevier, went against them, assaulted their lurking-place, and drove them over the mountains. Another Tory, of the name of Yearly, was chased out of the neighborhood of Nolichucky. Grimes was afterward caught and hung.

And here, young friends, let us say a serious and sincere word to you about such proceedings as we have just mentioned. At a time when the country was passing from the English Government to a new one of the people's making, in the midst of war and confusion, when things were done by force and violence on all sides, the conduct of the Watauga people was neces-

sary and right. But now, when we have an established government, with laws to punish all offenses, and judges, juries, and other officers to enforce the laws, we can have no excuse for imitating such proceedings. If anybody should ever propose to you to join a company of Lynchers or Vigilants, do you just say to him that if the laws of Tennessee are not sufficient to punish crimes, you will help to make them stronger, but never to violate them.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE NARROWS AND NICKOJACK.

It was stated in the last chapter that the Chickamaugas were the most ferocious and unmanageable of all the Cherokee tribes. Their towns were on the south side of Tennessee River, from the mouth of Chickamauga River, for a distance of forty or fifty miles down the former stream. By looking at a map, you will see that the Tennessee here breaks through the Cumberland Mountains, or rather a branch of them, usually called Walden's Ridge. This passage of the river through the mountain is called *The Narrows*, not far below the present town of Chattanooga.

The channel of the river here becomes quite narrow, and the banks high, steep, and craggy, to a degree almost terrible. The current being very rapid, and being thrown by the jutting rocks first on one side and then on the other, the water goes roaring and foaming with a vio-

lence equally dangerous and frightful. Even at this day, though much has been done to improve the navigation, it is regarded by boatmen as a place that requires uncommon care to pass it with safety. At the time of which we are writing, it could only be descended when the river was full.

In the same neighborhood is the celebrated Nickojack Cave. One who has examined it, gives the following description of this wonderful place: "At its mouth it is about thirty yards wide, arched overhead with pure granite, this being in the center about fifteen feet high. A beautiful little river, clear as crystal, issues from its mouth. The distance the cave extends into the mountain has not been ascertained. It has been explored only four or five miles. At the mouth the river is wide and shallow, but narrower than the cave. As you proceed farther up the stream, the cave becomes gradually narrower, until it is contracted to the exact width of the river. It is beyond that point explored only by water, in a small canoe."

It was into this cave, and into the rugged and precipitous country bordering on The Narrows, that the Chickamaugas used to retreat when hard pressed by a pursuing enemy. Here they

could safely store their provisions, their warlike implements, and the plunder they might gather in their expeditions against the white settlements. And to these dismal strongholds was brought many a wretched captive, to pine in loathsome slavery, or to be tortured to death in an Indian frolic. When we come to speak of Middle Tennessee, we shall see that most of the disasters suffered by the early settlers in that quarter, proceeded from the land-pirates of Nickojack and The Narrows.

But the Chickamaugas were not the only occupants of these abominable dens, and perhaps not the worst. The most savage and lawless of the other tribes found here a resort suited to their wild tempers, and companions always ready to encourage and assist them in deeds of violence and blood. When any portion of the Chickasaws, Choctaws, or Creeks would become too bold and bloody to remain in their own tribes, they found a welcome entrance into the Chickamauga bands, and full scope for the exercise of their worst propensities.

There were also a few white men sometimes to be found in company with the Indians that congregated about these places. But we are sorry to say that the company was not made

better by their presence. Besides the Indian agents of the English King, the Chickamauga towns and strongholds were resorted to by men who were not allowed to live elsewhere. Murderers and robbers from the Atlantic States, and from Louisiana and Florida, then in possession of the Spaniards, pirates that had been chased from the high seas, outlaws and desperadoes of all sorts, fled to these parts to avoid the punishment that was pursuing them. It is, perhaps, not stretching the truth too far to call the population of these infamous localities the enemies of the human race. They certainly proved to be the most destructive foes to the new settlements in Tennessee.

CHAPTER XIX.

EXPEDITION AGAINST THE CHICKAMAUGA
TOWNS.

IN order to check the inroads of the pestilent gang of savages and others, that we have described in the foregoing chapter, North Carolina and Virginia united in getting up an expedition against the Chickamaugas. The troops for the purpose assembled at the mouth of Big Creek, near the present town of Rogersville, in the spring of 1779. They were placed under command of Colonel Evan Shelby, and consisted of more than a thousand men, mostly volunteers from the western counties of the two States. Neither Carolina nor Virginia had any money to defray the expenses of the expedition, and the funds absolutely necessary to carry it on were raised by Colonel Shelby's son Isaac, afterward so distinguished in western warfare.

It was determined that the army should proceed by water, and in a short time a sufficient

number of canoes and pirogues were built by the troops to take them all down the river. They arrived safely at the mouth of Chickamauga, and turned up that stream. Here they met with an Indian, whom they made prisoner, and forced him to act as their guide to the Indian towns, with the situation of which they were not much acquainted. By his direction, they presently left the current and their canoes, and struggled through the backwater in a cane-brake, until they came in sight of the Chickamauga town. There were a good many Indians in the town, but as they were not looking out for such an invasion, they were taken by surprise, and, without making any resistance, ran off to their hiding-places in the mountains.

The Indians having fled, and it being impossible to pursue them with any success, Colonel Shelby had to content himself with burning the town. The troops were sent out in various directions, and drove the enemy and burned their towns wherever they could come up with them. At Chickamauga they found one hundred and fifty horses, a great number of cattle, and other valuable things belonging to the Indians, a large part of which they had stolen, at different times, from the white settlers.

Among other things was a large number of deer-skins, which were said to belong to a Tory white trader, named McDonald. These were sold at public auction.

During this invasion of the Chickamauga country, Colonel Shelby and his men burned eleven of their towns, and destroyed twenty thousand bushels of corn. It was certainly a great pity, in this way, to deprive the women and children of shelter and food; but there was no help for it, if the Indians were to be punished at all. It was a more agreeable business for Colonel Shelby to take possession of a large amount of goods belonging to the agents of the British Government, and with which they intended to bribe the Indians to make war upon our frontiers. Such of the goods as could not conveniently be carried by the men, were destroyed; but we have never heard that Colonel Shelby, or anybody else, ever paid the British for them, except in lead.

Having done all they could to teach the Indians and their allies good behavior for the future, the army set out on its return. To avoid the great labor and difficulty of taking the boats up the river, against a strong current, it was resolved to march back by land. The

boats, and whatever else of value they were unable to carry, were sunk in deep water, that the Indians might not get them. The men, on their way home, were a good deal distressed for want of provisions, and had to depend on their rifles to keep from starving. They all reached the settlements in safety, not a man being lost on the expedition.

This attack upon the Chickamauga towns had a good effect, not only in disabling those savages for a time, but also in saving the whole frontier from invasion. The British agents and officers had appointed to meet the chiefs of all the northern and southern tribes at the mouth of the Tennessee River. There they were to make arrangements for the Indians to be joined by some British troops, and to attack at once all the settlements west of the Alleghanies. The loss of their stores at Chickamauga, and the impression made upon the Indians by the energy and boldness of the volunteers, prevented the appointed meeting, and spoiled the whole plan of operations.

In their march homeward, the troops took the north side of the Tennessee, and consequently passed through some of the finest parts of East Tennessee. The fertility of the lands, the beauty

of the streams, and the mildness of the climate—all united to render the country attractive; and, no doubt, many a volunteer resolved with himself to make his future home near some gushing spring where he stopped, in his weary march, to make his meal of parched corn and broiled venison. In this way, as well as in its more direct object, the expedition tended to advance the settlements.

CHAPTER XX.

CONDITION OF NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

WE have not undertaken to write any history of the Revolutionary War, but in order that our young readers may better understand some matters that are to follow, we must now glance at the state of that war, at least so far as North and South Carolina were concerned. The contest between Great Britain and the American Colonies had been going on for five years, but at no time during that period had the hopes and prospects of the American patriots been so low as they were at the time of which we write—the year 1780. Even those who had resolved never to submit, had begun to think of leaving the country on the east of the mountains, and of seeking safety and independence in the western wilderness.

South Carolina was entirely overrun by the British Army. Charleston, the capital of the State, had been taken, and the whole American

Army that defended it, under General Lincoln, had been made prisoners of war. The Americans had suffered a bloody defeat at Savannah; and again, at Camden, under General Gates, their whole Southern Army had been routed and scattered. Small parties of British and Tories were employed in all quarters in harassing the Whigs, taking and destroying their property, and abusing their helpless families.

At this time, there was no army to oppose the English in all the Southern States. And what was even worse, neither the Continental Congress nor the separate States possessed the necessary means of raising an army. They were without money in the public treasury, and already deeply in debt. It is true, there were men ready and willing to spill their blood in defense of the liberties of their country; but an army requires provisions, and baggage-wagons, and clothing for the soldiers, and cannon and muskets, and powder and lead, and many other things that can hardly be procured without either money or credit.

In this gloomy and distressful condition, many of the Whigs on the east of the mountains brought their families, for shelter and protection, to the settlements of Watauga and

Nolichucky. All who came were received with open arms, fed and sheltered in the poor but hospitable cabins of the pioneers. The tales told by these refugees, of their sufferings from British insolence and Tory rapacity, and of the down-trodden country they had been forced to leave, were not without their natural influence upon the bold and generous population of the west. Many of them, singly or in small companies, crossed the mountains, determined to do what they could to help the few Whigs who still refused to lay down their arms at the bidding of Lord Cornwallis, the British commander.

The two Colonels—Shelby and Sevier—having united their own small bands with those led by Colonel Clarke, of Georgia, and Colonel Williams, of South Carolina, were able to strike some effective blows against the royal troops. They captured a Tory leader, Colonel Moore, and his whole party, of more than a hundred men. Near Enoree River they fought and defeated a superior body of Tories and British regulars, but were then compelled to retreat to the west of the mountains. In short, so brave and skillful, and, at the same time, so successful were they, in these irregular attempts, that the British officers dreaded nothing so much

as to encounter the deadly aim of the frontier riflemen.

Lord Cornwallis, intending to march his army into North Carolina, sent forward Colonel Ferguson to prepare the way, by rousing up the Tories to join his standard. This officer found hardly anybody to oppose his progress in Western Carolina. For a time the Whig spirit seemed to be almost crushed out, and he just marched through the country, doing his will among the inhabitants, as if they were a conquered people. From the eastern edge of the mountains, he threatened to cross over, and subdue the western settlements. He even sent an insolent message to Shelby and Sevier, telling them if they did not wish to have their "hornet's nest" burnt out, they had better be quiet, and stay at home.

This message reached Watauga in the month of August, 1780. Immediately the nest was in an uproar. Shelby and Sevier consulted together, and resolved that they would raise as many mounted riflemen as they could in Washington and Sullivan counties, as also from the western part of Virginia, and meet Ferguson on the east of the mountains. Under leaders in whom they had such confidence, every man in the two counties was ready to volunteer; but

some must be left to guard the women and children against the hostile Indians. So they selected two hundred and forty men from each county, and Colonel Campbell, of Washington county, Va., soon after joined them with a force of four hundred mounted riflemen, the flower of the Virginia border. To these were added a few refugee Whigs, under Colonel McDowell, of North Carolina.

CHAPTER XXI.

BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN.

ON the 25th of September, 1780, these troops were assembled at Watauga, ready and eager to be led against their own and their country's enemy. And we may feel safe in saying that nowhere in America, or out of it, could a thousand men have been collected better qualified for the work before them. They were as patriotic Whigs as Patrick Henry or Samuel Adams, and as determined to vindicate the liberties of America as the President of Congress, or the Commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary Army. Every man of them was a horseman and marksman by daily practice from boyhood, and had faced the Cherokees too often, to be startled at the sight of an armed enemy. Besides, they knew each other well, and that in the hour of battle there would be no flincher in the ranks.

Still, there was very little of the outside of

soldiers about these brave men. They were dressed in the *homespun* which their wives and sisters had spun, and wove, and made up. No military gewgaws, epaulets, and sashes were dangling about them; but each man, officers and all, carried a shot-pouch, a knife, a knapsack, and a blanket, with his trusty rifle on his shoulder. Thus equipped, they were formed in close order around a clergyman present, who in a solemn and fervent prayer commended them to the protection of the *God of battles*. With this last preparation, the word was given to move, and, facing toward the mountains, they commenced the rapid march in search of Colonel Ferguson and his marauding bands.

Upon arriving at the settled parts of the country east of the mountains, they were, almost every hour, joined by individuals and small parties of Carolina Whigs, who, though routed and scattered, were ready to march under the banner of their country, wherever they could find it. Among others, they were reënforced by Colonel Cleveland and Colonel Wilkes, with several hundred men, and also by Colonel Williams, of South Carolina, with about four hundred more. Colonel McDowell, who was entitled by his rank to command the whole, had

gone in search of the head-quarters of the American Army, to get a general officer to take the command. But the remaining officers resolved not to wait, but to go at once in pursuit of Ferguson.

That commander, by this time, had heard of the storm that was coming upon him from the west. He was then posted at Gilberttown, in Rutherford county. Upon the approach of the army under Shelby, he left that place in order to avoid a battle, until he could receive help from the Tories, and from Lord Cornwallis, who was encamped at Charlotte. The pursuers, suspecting his motives, only pushed after him with more rapidity. Two days before the battle, they selected from the whole army about nine hundred men, with the best horses, and hurried on ahead, leaving those mounted on slow and tired animals to follow more at leisure.

For the last thirty-six hours of the pursuit, this advanced party were never out of the saddle but for an hour. At length they learned from people whom they met, that Colonel Ferguson had halted about three miles from them, and had posted his men on the ridge of a high hill, in order of battle. This was about twelve o'clock, and it had rained hard all the forenoon.

But the clouds now cleared away, and the sun shone brilliantly, while the officers held a short council, to arrange the plan of attack. The men busied themselves in putting their rifles in good order, especially in putting in fresh and dry powder for priming, in place of that which had been wet by the rain. Percussion-caps had not then been invented, but they used flintlocks to fire their rifles.

They were soon again in rapid motion toward Ferguson's camp; but when within a mile of it, they met a man hurrying with a letter from that officer to Lord Cornwallis, stating his situation, and asking for reënforcements as soon as possible. In this letter, which was taken from the express, Ferguson said to his commander that he was encamped on a hill, which he had named King's Mountain, in honor of the King of England, and that "all the rebels out of hell should not drive him from it." The troops then moved forward at a gallop, until they were in full view of the enemy's camp. Here there was a short halt, while the officers were making an examination of the ground, and some hasty arrangements for the battle.

And now, young readers, we are not going to describe to you the battle of King's Moun-

tain, for two reasons. The first is, that you could not understand such matters, even when well described; and the second is, that we do not ourselves comprehend such operations well enough to describe them. Let it satisfy us to know that, after an hour's hard fighting, the Americans were victorious, and that Colonel Ferguson and every man of his army were either slain or made prisoners. Some of the special incidents and results of the battle shall be noticed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXII.

INCIDENTS AND RESULTS OF THE BATTLE OF
KING'S MOUNTAIN.

IN this battle, two hundred and twenty-five of the enemy were killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and seven hundred made prisoners. The Americans also got possession of fifteen hundred guns, and many horses and wagons loaded with supplies. The wagons they burned on the spot, as they could not take them over the mountains for the want of roads. The Americans had thirty killed, and about sixty wounded. Among the killed was the gallant Colonel Williams, who fell in making a daring charge at the person of the British commander. Major Chronicle was slain early in the battle.

Of Colonel Campbell's regiment, three of the Edmondsons, and ten others, were killed. Colonel Sevier had in his regiment six of his own name, amongst them two brothers and two

sons. Of the sons, one was only sixteen years old. Captain Robert Sevier, brother of the Colonel, died of his wounds a few days after the battle. The names of those killed on the side of the enemy are not known, except that of Colonel Ferguson. He obstinately refused to surrender at every stage of the fight, and twice cut down a white flag which the Tories had raised as a sign of submission. However we may detest the service in which he was employed, we may not deny that he was a brave man, and an able and faithful officer.

This memorable battle was fought on Saturday, the 7th of October. The Americans camped on the ground that night, buried the dead of both parties on Sunday morning, and then commenced their return march, as they could not think of remaining so near to the large army of Lord Cornwallis. They had more prisoners than there were American soldiers to guard them; besides, the arms captured from the enemy were to be taken along by some means. Well, they just took the flints out of the locks, so that the guns could not be fired, and made the prisoners carry them, while the Americans kept close behind them with their rifles loaded. Ten or twelve miles on their way,

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they met their friends whom they had left behind two days before the battle.

When they thought themselves at a safe distance from the main British Army, they halted and held a court-martial, for the trial of some of the Tory prisoners that were known to have robbed and murdered Whigs. The court condemned thirty to be hung, but only nine of the worst were actually executed, the others being let off with some lighter punishment. Among those put to death, was the same Grimes that had been run off from the neighborhood of Watauga for the murder of a Whig. Our young readers must understand that these men were not punished because they were the public enemies of the country, but for the crimes they had done as private individuals. The British and other Tory prisoners were treated kindly, but not allowed to get away.

The regiments of Campbell and Shelby now directed their march toward the central parts of Virginia, where the prisoners could be safely kept. Colonel Sevier and his men separated from the others, and cut across the mountains toward home. In their short absence, the Cherokees had again begun to threaten the frontiers of Washington county. No doubt

they had been led to expect that Sevier and his volunteers would never return, but be either killed or captured in the expedition against Ferguson. In that event, they might promise themselves some sport in taking scalps.

The victory of the Americans at King's Mountain was, in many ways, a most important event. It subdued the hostile spirit of the Indians, by proving to them that the western riflemen could conquer even British regulars. It quelled the courage of the Tories, for the same reason, and prevented them from joining the army of Lord Cornwallis, as otherwise they would have done. But above all, it was the first serious check to the course of British success in the Southern States. The down-trodden Whigs began everywhere to raise their heads, and to look hopefully for the success of their cause. In a word, it was the turning-point in the War of the Revolution; and from that time, the prospect continued to brighten, till final victory was consummated in the surrender of the British Army under Cornwallis at Yorktown.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EXPEDITION AGAINST THE CHEROKEES.

It was not only in the battle of King's Mountain, but on several other occasions, both before and after, that the western riflemen proved their zeal and courage, in defending the liberty of their country against the British and Tories. Whenever they could be spared from guarding their own settlements against Indian attacks, they were always ready to give help to their countrymen, who, in North and South Carolina, were more exposed than elsewhere to the oppressions of the public enemy. But these matters belong to a history of the Revolutionary War, and not to that of Tennessee in particular. We will therefore let them pass, and turn our attention again to the condition of the western settlements.

As mentioned in the last chapter, the Indians took advantage of the absence of Colonel Sevier and his men at King's Mountain, and a large

party of them were marching against the white settlements when the volunteers reached home. Without resting a single day, Colonel Sevier put himself at the head of about a hundred men, and hastened to meet the advancing savages before they should do any mischief on the frontiers. As soon as they could get ready, a larger body of troops were to follow and join him, in order to march into the Indian territory, and attack the Cherokees at home.

After crossing French Broad River, the troops met the Indians near Boyd's Creek, and had a pretty severe battle with them. More than twenty of the Indians were left dead on the ground, and a considerable number were carried off wounded. Not one of the white men was hurt, though a bullet from an Indian's rifle shaved off the hair on the side of Colonel Sevier's head. The enemy retreated toward the Cherokee towns, and Colonel Sevier camped in the neighborhood of the battle-ground, to wait for the volunteers that were coming on to join him.

In a few days, Colonel Campbell, at the head of a regiment from Virginia, and Major Martin with the volunteers of Sullivan county, arrived at the camp. The army being now increased

to about seven hundred men, the leaders determined to push forward into the Indian towns. The enemy had assembled to oppose their passage across the Little Tennessee, but dispersed and fled at sight of the volunteers, and without firing a gun. The towns of Chota, Chilhowe, Hiwassee, and many others, were burned, and the cattle and other property of the Indians destroyed. To our young readers it may seem very cruel thus to deprive the Indian women and children of shelter and food at the beginning of winter; but it was a necessary measure of self-preservation for the white men, who had no other means of punishing the savages for their cruel hostilities. The troops were compelled either to do this, or suffer their own wives and children to be murdered, and their own property carried off by the Indians.

The volunteers then continued their march to the Chickamauga towns, and even a considerable distance into what is now the State of Alabama. The Indian warriors ventured nowhere to oppose them, and consequently they were forced to do here as they had done on the Tennessee—that is, to destroy the wigwams, provisions, and cattle, wherever they could find them. In their route, they found in one of the

towns a white man, who was proved to be a British agent, that stayed among the Cherokees for the purpose of persuading and bribing them to make war upon the white settlers. It is not necessary to say what was done with *him*. They also found and brought home several young white persons that the Indians had taken captive, and kept as slaves.

In this place it may be well to take notice, that the Indians did not always kill their prisoners. It was indeed very seldom that a grown person was spared ; but children were frequently kept by them as a sort of servants to help the squaws in their work. After awhile the captives would be adopted into the tribe, and considered and treated, in all respects, as Indians. In some instances, after staying some years with the savages, these young persons would become fond of that kind of life, and be unwilling to return and live with their white relatives and friends. Sometimes an Indian would save the life of a prisoner, for the sake of selling him back to his family for a high price—that is, for a rifle or a long knife.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PROGRESS OF THE SETTLEMENTS.

THE expedition spoken of in the last chapter was followed by several others, undertaken against different Indian towns. Especially one, under the command of Colonel Sevier himself, was entirely successful in breaking up some strongholds of the Indians, called the middle towns, and situated in the mountains about the head-waters of the Little Tennessee. By these various disasters the Cherokees were much disabled, and disposed, at least for some time, to behave themselves peaceably. In consequence of this state of things, the settlements were rapidly advanced, and early in the year 1782, a few cabins might be seen scattered along the south side of the French Broad River.

On the 15th of August, 1782, the first Circuit Court ever held in Tennessee, under the authority of North Carolina, commenced its session at Jonesborough. Honorable Spruce McCay was

the Judge; Waightstill Avery, Attorney for the State, and John Sevier, Clerk. In the next year, Washington county was again divided, and a new county formed, with the name of Greene, in honor of General Nathanael Greene, of the Continental Army. About the same time, the General Assembly of North Carolina passed a law, fixing the boundary line between the Indians and the white settlers. But as the Cherokees were not consulted in this matter, the claim of the State to the described line had still to be made good by western rifles.

About this time, also, a great quantity of land in East-Tennessee was disposed of by the Government of North Carolina. Some of this was given to the soldiers who had served in the Revolutionary War, and some was sold to any one who would buy it. North Carolina, like the other States, was very much in debt, and the lands thus sold were generally paid for, not in money, but in claims against the State called *specie certificates*. The price of the land, as fixed by law, was ten pounds per hundred acres. Ten pounds, Carolina currency, being equal to twenty dollars, we see that the fine bottoms in East Tennessee, now worth fifty dollars per acre, were then bought for twenty cents.

It had now been fourteen years since the first cabin was built by Captain Bean, at Watauga, and the settlements had not yet advanced farther west than the French Broad. But they had become every year stronger and more populous, and, except on the western and southern outskirts, there was no longer any use for stations, or any great dread of Indian massacres. And, although game was still plentiful, people did not "miss a dinner because the rifle snapped." Sufficient land had been cleared to raise an abundance of corn and other crops, and the farmers had plenty of cattle and hogs, and they were always fat. Even some apples and peaches had now been raised, for the delight of the robust boys and ruddy girls of Watauga and Nolichucky.

Still, in all this plenty of the substantial means of living, the people enjoyed no luxuries and few conveniences. They had some water-mills to grind corn, but no means of making good flour. Even their salt had to be brought from Augusta, in Georgia, on pack-horses, and sometimes cost as high as ten dollars per bushel. The sugar they used was made from the trees in the forest; but as to coffee and tea, these were hardly seen amongst them. The

first court-house built in Jonesborough had a roof of shingles, put on with wooden pegs instead of nails, and probably there was not a pane of window-glass west of the mountains.

Amidst these great discomforts, as they may now seem to us, the inhabitants felt themselves contented and happy, and, as far as circumstances would allow, turned their attention to the best means of improving their social condition. In every neighborhood where a sufficient number of pupils—boys and girls together—could be collected, the humble log school-house was set up, in which reading, writing, and common arithmetic were taught. Perhaps the number of houses for preaching and Christian worship was nearly equal to that of school-houses, and often the same building was used for both purposes. The preachers, of several denominations, were supported by the voluntary kindness and hospitality of the people.

The Revolutionary War, which had lasted eight years, was now at an end, and Great Britain had acknowledged the thirteen provinces to be free and independent States. The war had left the people poor, and the governments in debt, but still with the means of establishing a great and prosperous nation, if they

could only be brought to act with prudence and moderation. As to the people of the Tennessee settlements, it was no new thing for them to be free. They had been accustomed to govern themselves, and to take care of their own affairs, from the time they first crossed the mountains. In the next three chapters, we shall see how they behaved on this occasion.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE STATE OF FRANKLIN.

WHEN the Revolutionary War commenced, the thirteen provinces appointed delegates from each one, to meet together in Philadelphia, to consult for the public good, and to manage the war against Great Britain. It was agreed, by a written instrument, that this body of delegates, called the "Continental Congress," should have power to do certain things, but not others. Among the rest, this written instrument, called "Articles of Confederation," gave authority to the Congress to tax the States, but not to collect the tax from the people. This was to be done by the State Governments, and if they did not force the people to pay the tax, the law of Congress could do no good toward raising money. These "Articles of Confederation" regulated the power of Congress, till the year 1787, when the present "Constitution of the United States" was made and agreed to by the States.

At the close of the war, the Congress and the State Governments were deeply in debt, for expenses in carrying it on. The Congress could not force the people to pay taxes, and the States would not, or at least did not. Indeed, the war had so entirely cut off the Americans from all trade with the rest of the world, that there was scarcely any money in the country with which taxes could be paid. In this difficulty, several of the States, amongst them North Carolina, gave up to Congress all their vacant lands west of the mountains, so that by the sale of them the public debt might be paid. In this way, as the debt was mostly due to our own people, if they could not get money, they might have land for their claims.

In the month of June, 1784, the General Assembly of North Carolina passed a law, granting to Congress all the territory belonging to that State between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River. The counties of Washington, Sullivan, and Greene, lying in this territory, were thus cut off from North Carolina. The General Assembly, in the act of cession, gave to Congress two years to determine whether they would take the territory or not, and, during that time, it was to be under the

government of North Carolina. The members from the western counties in the General Assembly voted for this act, as they were willing and expected soon to be organized into a separate State.

For reasons that we cannot well explain here, the Congress did not at once accept the territory thus granted to them, and the inhabitants of the western counties were left without any regular, lawful government. It is true, that North Carolina had reserved to herself the right to govern them during the two years of suspense; but it was taken for granted that they would not long continue to be a part of that State, therefore very little attention was bestowed upon them by her authorities. In those times, before fast traveling by railways had been thought of, a community so extensive as North Carolina and Tennessee together, was considered too large to be conveniently managed; and therefore it had been expected, on all hands, that the territory west of the mountains would, at some time, be formed into a distinct government.

Well, the people of the three counties thought the time had now arrived, and immediately set about the work of providing a government for

themselves. Delegates, elected by each captain's company, met together to consult about the best manner of proceeding. This convention recommended to the people to elect delegates to another convention, for the purpose of forming a constitution for the new State, and putting it into operation. This convention was held accordingly, a constitution formed, and provision made for electing a governor, members of the Legislature, and other officers. To the new State was given the name of *Franklin*, in honor of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, the great American philosopher and patriot.

Between the times of holding the two conventions, the General Assembly of North Carolina had repealed the "cession act," by which the territory had been granted to Congress, and also passed several laws for the convenience and satisfaction of the western counties. A good many of those who had at first been in favor of forming a separate State, were satisfied with these proceedings of North Carolina, and were willing to continue under her jurisdiction. Among these was Colonel Sevier, who had been the president of the first convention, and had lately been appointed brigadier-general of the western militia. But the majority

were still for separation, and the business proceeded accordingly. General Sevier presided also over the convention that framed the constitution.

As provided for by the convention, members were elected to the Legislature of Franklin, and held their first session at Jonesborough in 1785. Among their first acts was the appointment of a governor, and that office was bestowed on General Sevier. By the constitution of the new State, the governor, judges, and many other officers, were appointed by the Legislature, that are elected by the people under the present constitution of Tennessee. David Campbell, Joshua Gist, and John Anderson, were the three judges appointed by the Legislature at this session.

At this session of the General Assembly of Franklin, among other good laws passed for the better regulation of the new State, and the benefit of the people, was one to establish "Martin Academy." This was the first institution of learning established by law in what is now Tennessee—full of colleges, academies, and high schools. The first teacher was the Rev. Samuel Doak, a Presbyterian clergyman, who had received his education at Princeton College,

in New Jersey. For many years this school, kept in a log cabin, was the only one, west of the mountains, where boys could be taught Latin and Greek, and in it were educated many of the leading men of Tennessee.

CHAPTER XXVI.

STATE OF FRANKLIN.

As might have been expected, the proceedings related in the foregoing chapter were quite distasteful to the government and people of North Carolina. While they expressed a willingness that the territory west of the mountains should, in a proper way, and at a proper time, become an independent State, they condemned, as irregular and unlawful, the course which the inhabitants had actually adopted. The consequence was, that a warm controversy sprung up between the authorities of the two States. The Governor of North Carolina issued his proclamation, asserting the rights of the parent State, and warning the people against giving countenance and support to the new government. This naturally called out a reply from Governor Sevier, in which he undertook to justify what had been done by the people of the western counties.

But a still warmer controversy arose among the western people themselves. Many of them had, from the first, been opposed to the measure of forming a new State, and many others were dissatisfied with the constitution proposed. A third convention rejected that constitution, and, after a good deal of debate, finally agreed to adopt the constitution of North Carolina, with a few alterations. The angry discussions in the convention were taken up by the people, who were soon divided into two distinct parties, the one favoring the new State, and the other the old. Everywhere, in public and in private, men talked of little else than this absorbing subject.

In the meantime, the General Assembly of North Carolina continued to make laws, and to appoint officers for the western counties, as if still a part of the old State, and as if no separate government had been instituted. Thus was presented the strange and dangerous condition of two governments and two sets of officers, exercising authority over the same people at the same time. The people were required to serve two masters at once, which the Bible tells us cannot be done. Even our young readers can see that if two teachers in the same school should make

contradictory rules—the one forbidding what the other required to be done—it would be impossible to obey both.

This state of things lasted for two years or more; and the great wonder is, that the western settlements were not entirely ruined by it. But the people, on both sides, had been so practiced in self-government, and so much accustomed to think for themselves, understood so well their own rights, and so much respected the rights of others—in a word, were so prudent and patriotic, that much less mischief grew out of the collision of authorities than might have been expected. True, there were violent quarrels in public, and bitter enmities in private—the two parties sometimes broke up each other's courts, destroyed the records, and resisted the officers; and in these struggles, first and last, two or three men were killed. Still, there was nothing like general violence or insecurity to life or property.

As Governor of Franklin, General Sevier exerted himself to maintain the authority and the dignity of the new State, while he did his whole duty in guarding the frontier against Indian hostilities. The seat of the Franklin Government was at Greeneville, in Greene county; and

in that county the friends of the new State were much stronger than the other party. The "Old State" men, under the lead of Colonel Tipton, made their head-quarters at Jonesborough, where a majority of the people were of that side. Between these two popular and influential men—Sevier and Tipton—there sprung up a bitter personal hatred, which they manifested upon all occasions.

At the end of two years, Governor Sevier's term of office expired, and he became a private citizen. With his usual zeal and activity, however, he was soon at the head of a band of volunteers, driving back the Cherokees, and securing peace and safety to the exposed settlements. Happening about this time to visit Jonesborough, he was arrested, at the instigation of Colonel Tipton, on a warrant issued under the authority of North Carolina, and taken across the mountains to Morganton, in Burke county, to be tried for high treason. He was considered to be guilty of this crime, because he had attempted to overthrow the Government of North Carolina in the western counties.

As soon as the news of this proceeding was spread among the people, a company of his

friends—among them his two sons—armed themselves, mounted their horses, and crossed the mountains, with a determination to bring him back at all hazards. When this party reached Morganton, they found the court in session, and the trial of Governor Sevier going on. The most of them waited outside of the town, while two men rode into the court-yard, leading Sevier's fine race-mare, ready saddled. One of them stayed with the horses, while the other went in, and gave a sign to Sevier, who was sitting in the prisoner's box. He instantly sprung from his seat and out of the door, and in a second was on the back of his favorite racer. There was some appearance of pursuit, but no earnest effort to retake the prisoner, and the Governor and his friends rode home at their leisure.

CHAPTER XXVII.

STATE OF FRANKLIN.

DURING all these difficulties, the Government of North Carolina acted with the utmost prudence and forbearance toward the supporters of the new State. Instead of attempting to enforce its rights by an appeal to arms and bloodshed, the General Assembly of that State employed itself in enacting such laws, and making such regulations, as seemed best suited to soothe and conciliate the western people. Among others, it passed an act granting a pardon for all offenses committed against that State, in supporting the Government of Franklin. It was also declared that all official acts, done by the officers of Franklin, should be good and valid, as if done by the authority of North Carolina.

As John Sevier was the first, so he was the last, Governor of the State of Franklin. The Legislature never met after his term, and the whole

organization crumbled to pieces like frost-work. In the act of pardon mentioned above, it was declared that John Sevier should not be allowed to hold any office of honor, trust, or profit, under the State of North Carolina. But this was merely to save appearances. Except a few personal enemies, no one desired that he should be punished or disabled in any way; and the very next year, being elected a member of the General Assembly by the people of Greene county, the law against him was repealed, and he was permitted to take his seat upon the same footing as the other members.

In the meantime, in the year 1787, the present Constitution of the United States had been formed to take the place of the "Articles of Confederation," and had been accepted by North Carolina, as well as the other States. The counties west of the mountains had been laid off into a Congressional District, and John Sevier was elected the first member of Congress from that District. It appears from the Journal that he took his seat in the Hall of Representatives on the 16th of June, 1790, as a member from North Carolina. Thus ended the short-lived State of Franklin, and all that is now the State of Tennessee was again a part of

North Carolina, with a little exception, which I must mention.

While the State of Franklin was maintained, commissioners acting under its authority, made a treaty with the Cherokees, by which the latter ceded some territory south of the French Broad River. The territory thus obtained was speedily settled, and organized into the county of Sevier. As the treaty was not made by the authority of North Carolina, and that State would not regard the acts of the State of Franklin as lawful, the county of Sevier, after the downfall of the latter State, was held to be Indian territory; consequently the laws of North Carolina did not extend to it, and the people were left to shift for themselves. By voluntary association they managed to live peaceably and prosperously, till, in 1790, the whole country was ceded to the United States.

Before finally closing the history of the State of Franklin, it may be well to notice some little circumstances, which will give a fair and forcible idea of the state of the country, in respect to the scarcity of money, and the ordinary way of doing business among the people. The annual salary of Governor Sevier was two hundred pounds, and those of the inferior officers in

proportion. Supposing, as is likely, that North Carolina pounds are meant, then Governor Sevier received just four hundred dollars a year. The Governor of Tennessee now has three thousand—more than seven times as much. A Judge of the Circuit Court, under the laws of Franklin, was paid three hundred dollars per year for his services: the same officer now gets two thousand.

But farther: all taxes in the State of Franklin might, according to law, be paid, not in money, but in articles of country produce at fixed prices. Linsey cloth was to be taken at three shillings per yard; beaver-skins, six shillings apiece; fox and raccoon-skins, one shilling and three pence; tallow, six pence per pound; beeswax, one shilling; rye whisky, two shillings and six pence per gallon; country-made sugar, one shilling per pound; deer-skins, six shillings apiece; bacon, six pence per pound; and so of other articles. As the taxes might be paid in this way, so might the salaries of all the State officers. It used to be said, in waggery, that the Governor was paid in mink-skins.

This want of money does not prove that the people were poor. Their cribs and fields were full of corn, and their smoke-houses of meat,

and every traveler was welcomed to all that himself and his horse could consume. No one thought of receiving pay for a meal of victuals, or, as it used to be expressed, "hog and hominy" were free for all comers. The scarcity of money, arising from the want of foreign trade, caused the people to barter one article for another, instead of selling and buying as we now do. We have seen that, without the improvements and conveniences of our time, the early settlers of Tennessee displayed the noblest virtues that dignify and adorn human nature. Let us hope that, as we rise above them in respect to the former, we may not fall below their standard in the latter.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PROGRESS OF THE SETTLEMENTS.

DURING the existence of the Franklin Government, and amidst the political confusion of the times, the western frontier advanced perhaps more rapidly than at any previous period. The War of the Revolution being ended, the soldiers of the North Carolina line came, in great numbers, to the west, to take possession of the lands that had been given to them in payment for their military services. In the year 1787, the settlements extended down the Holston as far as where Knoxville now stands. Among the first settlers in what is now Knox county, are to be found the names of White, Connor, Armstrong, Campbell, Gillespie, Cavet, Gilliam, etc. James White occupied and owned the tract of land on which the town of Knoxville has since grown up.

On the south of Holston, the settlements extended as far west as the Little Tennessee. By

looking on a map, our young readers will see that the settlements, in what is now East Tennessee, were bounded nearly as follows: Commencing at the Virginia line, and running south-west along the Alleghany Ridge, as the line now runs between this State and North Carolina, to the head-waters of the Little Tennessee; from thence north to the present Kentucky line; then east with that line to the beginning. But there were some portions, outside of this line, where there were a few scattered cabins, and some parts inside of it were very thinly settled. The number of white persons then in that whole region was probably thirty thousand—much less than there are now in some single counties of Tennessee.

There was probably no time, in the early history of East Tennessee, when the frontiers were more securely guarded against Indian hostilities, than under the Franklin Government. Still, now and then, a family would be murdered by skulking Cherokees, and more frequently horses, cattle, and other property stolen and carried off. We have given few details of these massacres at any time, because we did not choose to harrow up the feelings of our young friends with such descriptions of

blood and suffering as could impart to them little useful information. There is one account, however, of a scene which passed about this time, that we will relate for the purpose of showing what the women, in those days, were capable of doing, and from what sort of grandmothers the men of the "Volunteer State" are descended.

Captain Gillespie had built his cabin south of Holston, at a considerable distance from his nearest neighbor. He had been busy in burning cane and clearing a field, but had occasion one day to leave home and go a distance of ten or twelve miles. A party of Indians, who had been lurking about for several days, found out that he was gone, and that nobody was at the cabin but his wife and little children. They immediately entered the house, in a hectoring and ferocious manner, and began to do what they pleased with the provisions, and whatever else it contained. Mrs. Gillespie stood it all quietly, thinking that her own life, and the lives of her children, depended upon not provoking the savages.

At length one of the Indians took out his scalping-knife and walked to the cradle, where the baby was sleeping, making motions as if he

were going to scalp it. What did the mother do then? Did she scream and faint? Nothing of the sort. Although she knew very well there were no white men within miles of her, she calmly walked to the door, and called out for the men in the clearing to "come and drive away these nasty Indians." The savages, in a panic, bolted out of the house, and soon hid themselves in the cane. As soon as they were out of sight, Mrs. Gillespie took her children and ran off on the trail that she knew her husband must follow in returning home.

She met him two or three miles from the cabin, and she and her little ones were taken to the nearest station for safety. Captain Gillespie, with two or three friends, then came back to see what had happened at home. The Indians, finding that they were not pursued as they had expected, had come back in the meantime, had robbed the house of every thing they wanted, and were just trying to set fire to it, when Gillespie and his party rode up. They at once fired upon the Indians, wounding two of them, and, in the pursuit, recovering all the stolen goods.

Many incidents, similar to this, happened in the early settlement of Tennessee, the particu-

lars of which are frequently related by the few old pioneers who still linger among us. And do our readers suppose that Mrs. Gillespie, and other frontier mothers like her, were less tender and womanly, because they knew how to manage Indians? Not so; but the trying circumstances in which they lived had taught them firmness and self-control, and they knew that screams and fainting fits would not assist their gallant husbands in their deadly struggle with the bloody savages of the border.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE TERRITORY SURRENDERED TO THE UNITED STATES.

By this time—that is, in the year 1789—the authority of North Carolina was entirely reëstablished in the western counties, and things were managed just as if the State of Franklin had never existed. But it was soon discovered that this connection was not very agreeable to either party, and not likely long to continue. The western people complained, and not without some reason, that the Government of North Carolina did not act a liberal part toward them, and refused to spend any money for the improvement and protection of the territory on this side of the mountains. They thought it hard that they should defend themselves against the Indians, and still pay taxes into the treasury of the parent State.

On the other hand, the people in the eastern portion of the State had begun to look upon

the western colonies as a trouble and a burden. Every claim presented against the treasury of the State, for services rendered or property lost in the Indian wars, was grudgingly paid, as an outlay of money by which the country on the east of the mountains could not be benefited. Having no thought that the two portions would continue permanently united, the citizens of the Atlantic counties were naturally unwilling to be taxed for the support and advancement of those who were, in a few years at most, to belong to another State.

The State of North Carolina had been very careful to suppress the independent Government of Franklin, and it might appear strange and whimsical in them to be so willing, in a year or two, to part with their western territory. To explain this, we must bear in mind that what North Carolina wanted with the territory was to pay off her Revolutionary debt with the vacant lands. This could not have been done if the Franklin Government had been permanently established, because the lands would then have belonged to the new State. By the course which had been taken, this purpose was now accomplished, and the people of the old State had no farther motive to oppose the separation.

For these reasons, and perhaps others that have not been mentioned, the General Assembly of North Carolina, in the year 1789, passed an act ceding to the Government of the United States all the territory now belonging to the State of Tennessee. Under the direction of the act of Assembly, Samuel Johnson and Benjamin Hawkins, the two Senators in Congress from that State, by a deed, dated on the 25th of February, 1790, made a regular and formal conveyance of the same. Thus peaceably, and with the consent of all parties, the territory was transferred to the United States, and immediately accepted by Congress, as a part of the domain of the Federal Government.

Before this time, Virginia and New York had granted all their vacant western lands to the General Government, and other States did so afterward. In every case, this was done with the understanding that, at a proper time, new States should be organized in the ceded territory, and admitted into the Union upon the same footing as the "Old Thirteen." In this way many new States have been formed, and among them the State of Tennessee. In the meantime, until the population should become sufficient for a State, the territory was under

the government of Congress, and the governor, judges, and other officers, were appointed by the President.

We have now traced the history of East Tennessee, from the first settlement at Watauga in 1769, till it became a part of the territory of the United States in 1790. So far, we have thought it most convenient to say nothing of another settlement, made shortly after that at Watauga—we mean the colony planted in Middle Tennessee, in the year 1779. These two settlements, in East and Middle Tennessee, were separated from each other by the wilderness of the Cumberland Mountains, and grew up for some time with little or no connection or intercourse. But when the frontier of one had been advanced toward the west, and of the other toward the east, till communication had become easy and frequent between them, it would be more convenient to treat them as one community. Hoping that our young readers are not yet tired with the subject, we shall, in the SECOND BOOK, bring up the history of Middle Tennessee to the year 1790.

BOOK II.



MIDDLE TENNESSEE.

OLD TIMES; OR, TENNESSEE HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

INDIAN TREATIES.

IN the former Book of this history, it was necessary to mention and to explain many things which need not be repeated here. Indeed, all the matters contained in the first five chapters are just as applicable to an account of the Middle Tennessee settlement as they are to that of the older colony in the eastern division of the State. By omitting all such topics in this Book, we shall be able to give a clear and satisfactory account of the settlement on the Cumberland in fewer pages than were required for that on the Watauga.

Before commencing the narrative of events that occurred in the settlement of Middle Tennessee, there are two other subjects which need to be discussed for the better understanding of both the preceding and subsequent parts of this history. One of these regards the treaties or agreements made, from time to time, with the Indian tribes. Some of these have been mentioned in the first Book, but the real nature of these transactions deserves to be more fully explained. We speak of treaties by which the white men acquired land from the Indians.

When we consider the small price usually paid for large tracts of land, now so valuable, our first thought is apt to be, that the Indians were badly treated—cheated by the superior cunning, or oppressed by the superior power of the whites. But farther reflection will be likely to change this first impression. The mistake arises from looking upon the Indians, as the owners of the land, in the same sense that men own land in civilized communities. But is this true? Did the Cherokees have any better right to the soil of Tennessee than the people of North Carolina or Virginia?

In civilized countries, when a man owns a tract of land, he does so by virtue of some title,

which the law has determined to be sufficient—a deed, or grant, or something of that sort. But it would be unreasonable to require any such thing of savages who have not the use of letters. Among them, we should consider it a sufficient title to have the peaceable possession and use of a piece of land for a number of years. Where the Cherokees had built their wigwams, and cultivated their corn-patches, it may be admitted that they were fairly the owners of the land which they had thus occupied.

But were they also the owners of the millions of acres which they merely traveled over in hunting? If so, then it equally belonged to the Pawnees, Chickasaws, or any other tribe, who sometimes hunted there. So that the country did not belong to the Cherokees exclusively, and they could no more sell it to the whites than could the Pawnees. But the Cherokees claimed that the country belonged to them as hunting-grounds, and would have considered it as an unfriendly act if the white men had taken possession without their consent. Therefore it was to keep peace with the Indians, that the white settlers were willing to pay them something for the privilege of occupying the country. They paid, not the value of the lands,

but any thing that would satisfy the Indians and keep them in good humor.

Savages who cannot or will not cultivate the land, must always and everywhere give way to a people who can and will. There is no natural justice in the notion that a territory capable of supporting a million of agricultural inhabitants, shall be reserved for a few thousand lazy savages to hunt over. But still, the inferior race should be treated with all the kindness and consideration that can be safely extended to them. They should be regarded, in some degree, as children, who are to be cared for and protected, and, at the same time, governed and controlled. We will not undertake to say that the people of the United States have, in no instance, practiced cruelty and oppression toward the Indians; but we rejoice to believe that in general they have been treated as humanely as self-preservation on the part of the whites would allow.

While the country was under the British Government, nobody could lawfully make treaties with the Indians, and purchase their lands, except those who were appointed or authorized for that purpose by the king. After independence was declared, this power of dealing with the Indian tribes was lodged in the

several State Governments, until they surrendered it to the Federal Government, in the present Constitution of the United States. Still, sometimes purchases of Indian territory were made by individuals, or private companies, without lawful authority. We have mentioned some instances of this kind, in the history of the East Tennessee settlements. Generally these transactions were afterward sanctioned by the Government, and produced no farther mischief than some temporary difficulty about land-titles.

Of this kind of unauthorized Indian treaties was the celebrated "Transylvania Purchase," made by Richard Henderson & Co., of North Carolina, in the year 1775. For the sum of ten thousand dollars, paid in goods, this company bought of the Cherokees all the lands between the Kentucky and Cumberland Rivers. To this purchase they gave the name of Transylvania, and proceeded to sell it out in small parcels to those who wished to settle the land. It afterward turned out that a large portion of this purchase was in the territory of North Carolina, and the claim of the company came into conflict with the rights of that State. The matter was finally compromised, so that no party suffered any considerable damage.

CHAPTER II.

SPANISH POSSESSIONS AND CLAIMS IN NORTH AMERICA.

THE other subject, to which we have thought it best to devote a preliminary chapter, regards the North American possessions of Spain, and the policy pursued by the government of that country toward our western settlements. During the time of which we are writing, that nation held extensive possessions, and more extensive claims, that came directly in conflict with those of the North American Union. Florida and Mexico were theirs beyond dispute, but as these places were not in the way of our settlements, extending westward, we need not give them any present consideration.

But Spain also owned and occupied New Orleans, and the country on both sides of the Mississippi River toward its mouth. Under the name of the "Province of Louisiana," they also claimed the whole territory watered by

that river and its tributaries, from its mouth to the great lakes, and from the Alleghany to the Rocky Mountains. Perhaps it might be more correct to say that they claimed to an indefinite distance east and west of the Mississippi. Their title to the country was derived from the French, who had settled New Orleans, and a few spots all along the Mississippi and Ohio, as far as Canada, and had afterward transferred all their "right, title, and interest" to Spain.

By glancing at a map of North America, our readers will see that the Spanish claim, running from the Gulf of Mexico north, crossed at right angles that of our people, running from the Atlantic Ocean west. As the rights of the two parties in this case were equally good, or rather equally bad, of course the disputed territory would ultimately belong to those who should first actually occupy and settle it. Hence it became the settled policy of the Spanish authorities in Louisiana to prevent or obstruct, by all possible means, the westward progress of the settlements in Tennessee, Kentucky, etc.

Farther, the inhabitants of the country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi had

no other means of getting their surplus produce to a foreign market but to take it in boats down that river to the Gulf of Mexico. The Spaniards, owning the land on both sides of the river at New Orleans, insisted that the river also belonged to them, and that no one could use it but by their permission, and upon such terms as they chose to exact. On this ground they required every boat descending the stream, to pay a tax or toll, such as they thought proper, from time to time, to demand.

Our young readers will probably be thinking that the Government of the United States should at once have put an end to this unreasonable and oppressive demand of Spain. Well, there was no want of attention to the subject on the part of Congress and the President. They argued, and negotiated, and remonstrated abundantly, but could not induce Spain to surrender her pretensions. But why not go to war, and whip her into compliance? Simply because we were not able to do it. If Spain and the United States had been then what they are now, such a proceeding would have been quite practicable, and employed with little hesitation.

But the Spanish monarchy was, at that time,

among the most powerful in Europe—strong in men, money, and all the resources of war. On the other hand, the United States were just out of an exhausting war of eight years with Great Britain; without an army or a navy, and destitute of the means of raising either. While able and ready to defend themselves at home against foreign invasion, the Government and people of the United States had not the resources to equip and maintain an army that could conquer and hold New Orleans against the power of Spain. In these circumstances, it was enough that they did not give up the right to navigate the Mississippi, and only waited for time to strengthen their hands sufficiently for a forcible assertion of their just claims.

If the Spanish idea of preventing the American settlements from extending to the Mississippi seems ridiculous at this day, it was not so sixty or seventy years ago. Besides having command of the Mississippi River, their military and trading posts along that stream and in Florida gave them great influence with the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks. These last were a powerful and warlike tribe, who occupied the extensive region between the Cherokees and the Gulf of Mexico. The Choc-

taws were located in the southern portion of what is now the State of Mississippi. As these two tribes interfered not at all, or very little, with the early settlements in East Tennessee, we have omitted to notice them before.

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CHAPTER III.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS IN MIDDLE TENNESSEE.

It was in the year 1769—the same in which the Watauga settlement was commenced—that the first party of white hunters visited the region now called Middle Tennessee. The company consisted of twenty men, some of them from North Carolina, others from Western Virginia. As most of them finally settled in the country, and became distinguished for their courage and conduct in defending the young colony against the Indians, we will here give a list of some of their names. They were John Rains, Kasper Mansco, Abraham Bledsoe, John Baker, Joseph Drake, Obadiah Terrill, Uriah Stone, Harry Smith, Ned Cowan, Robert Crockett.

This party came to Middle Tennessee by first taking a north-west course into the southern part of Kentucky, crossing the Cumberland Mountains at a place since known as Cumberland Gap, near the present State line between

Kentucky and Tennessee. By then turning to the south-west, they reached Middle Tennessee in that part now occupied by Sumner and the adjoining counties. Here they dispersed, after having appointed a place where they were all to meet, and to which they were to bring the proceeds of their hunting and trapping. The only one of the company who did not return to the camp was Robert Crockett, whose body was found on the great war-path of the Cherokees, which led to the Pawnee country. He had evidently been killed by some of the former tribe, and was the first white man murdered by Indians in Middle Tennessee.

This party came to the country in the summer, and returned home next spring, thus spending nine months without bread, and probably with a very scanty supply of salt. The account which they gave of the country, among their friends and neighbors in the Atlantic States, was such as to start another similar expedition the next year—1770. Colonel James Knox may be regarded as the leader in this adventure, and he, with some others of the company, followed the course of the Cumberland River to its mouth. In that day, these men were known as the “Long Hunters,” from

the extent of country which they traversed. They carried back with them a more extensive and accurate knowledge of Middle Tennessee than had been obtained by any previous explorers.

For several years after this, Middle Tennessee—or as it was then called, the Cumberland country—continued to be visited by adventurous hunters. Some Frenchmen, before the year 1779, had come up the Cumberland from the Ohio, and established a trading post at the “Bluff,” as the place where the capital of Tennessee now stands was then called. In 1778, several men, amongst them Spencer and Holliday, came from Kentucky, built some cabins, and planted a small field of corn near Bledsoe’s Lick. Holliday being about to return to Kentucky, Spencer determined to remain by himself. As Holliday had lost his knife, Spencer broke his own blade in two, and at parting, gave his companion half of it, with which to skin and cut his venison on the journey.

This Spencer made his home, during his solitary abode in the country, in a large hollow tree, near Bledsoe’s Lick. He was a very large man, and, from the following story, would appear to have had a foot at least in proportion

to his body. There was another hunter staying not far from him, but neither of them knew that there was any other white man but himself in that whole region. Upon some of his rambles, Spencer happened to pass not far from the hunter's camp, and left the tracks of his huge feet in the soft, deep soil. Upon seeing them a few days after, the man concluded that there must be giants thereabouts, and, in great alarm, made tracks of his own toward the nearest white settlement.

The first permanent white settlement in Middle Tennessee was made by a colony from Watauga, in 1779. This party was under the guidance of Captain James Robertson, the same man that had already done so much for the promotion of the Watauga settlement. He was accompanied by George Freeland, William Neely, Edward Swanson, James Hanly, Mark Robertson, Zachariah White, and James Overhall. They built cabins, and planted some corn, on the ground which the city of Nashville now covers. During the summer they were joined by several other parties of emigrants. When they had done working their corn, most of them returned for their families, leaving a few men to keep the buffaloes out of the field.

The site of the present city of Nashville passed, in those early times, under several different names. It was sometimes called "The Bluff," and sometimes "French Lick," or "French Salt Springs." The last two names were given to it on account of a bold spring that sends up salt-sulphur water in the northern part of the city. This spring was first visited by French traders, and was much resorted to by buffaloes and other wild animals to *lick* the salty earth around it. Bledsoe's Lick, Mansco's Lick, and many others, took their names in the same way. In the neighborhood of these licks was the best place to find plenty of large game. And throughout the country generally, every settler who did not live near a natural lick, made an artificial one by scooping out a hollow in a log, and therein depositing a little salt, to entice the deer. From a "blind" near these "lick-logs" a deer could be shot almost at any time.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM EAST TENNESSEE TO THE FRENCH LICK
BY WATER.

IN the same year that James Robertson and his companions planted corn at The Bluff, a considerable party left East Tennessee, intending to reach the same place by water. Of this party were several women, among them the wife of Captain Robertson, and Mrs. Peyton, whose husband had gone by land with Robertson. The trip was gotten up by Colonel John Donaldson, and managed chiefly under his direction. The fleet—consisting of several boats, canoes, and other river craft—started on the 22d of December, 1779, from Fort Patrick Henry, on the upper Holston. The voyage was commenced in the midst of a remarkably cold winter, and, on account of the ice in the river, and various accidents, the party did not get farther than the mouth of Clinch by the 1st of March.

Colonel Donaldson kept a journal of this expedition, which you may find printed in Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee*. It is too long to be copied here, and we must content ourselves with noticing only a few of the most interesting incidents of this hardy and perilous adventure. And while we do so, let our readers turn to their maps and mark the situation of the places mentioned, otherwise they will have but a confused notion of what we are relating. Geography is one of the eyes of history, and you must always look at a map, if you would understand clearly the situation of places spoken of in books.

In this progress down the Holston, you will see that the emigrants passed first the mouth of French Broad, then those of Little River and Little Tennessee, all on the left hand. Then comes in Clinch River on the right, and Hiwassee on the left. The next is the mouth of Chickamauga, on the left side, just below which are the dangerous Narrows, described in the first Book. After leaving Chickamauga, where they saw no Indians, the hindmost boat, containing Mr. Stewart, his family, and others, to the number of twenty-eight persons, was attacked by the savages, and every one on board

was either killed or made prisoner. Mr. Stewart's family had the small-pox, and, to prevent the rest of the party from catching the disease, they stayed so far behind that their friends in the other boats could give them no assistance in their terrible calamity.

The remaining boats kept as near the middle of the stream as they could, to be as far as possible from the Indians, who frequently fired upon them from the high banks on each side. Right in the most dangerous part of The Narrows, the boat of Mr. Jennings stuck fast on a rock, just under water, and where the current was so rapid that the other boats could not stop to help get it off. The Indians soon discovered their situation, and began to fire at the persons in the boat. The only chance now was to throw out every thing in the boat, and so lighten it, that it might be shoved from the rock. Mr. Jennings used his rifle as well as he could, while Mrs. Jennings, Mrs. Peyton, and a negro woman, in the midst of a constant shower of bullets from the Indians on the bank, succeeded at length in getting the boat so lightened as to float off the rock.

Upon this occasion, Colonel Donaldson relates the only instance of cowardice which we

meet with in all the history of the frontiers. Two young men, one of them the son of Mr. Jennings, and a negro, left their companions in the midst of the danger, and betook themselves to flight. It is not known what became of them. The three women had their clothes pierced by a score of bullets, but nobody was wounded; though an infant of Mrs. Peyton, twenty-four hours old, was somehow killed in the confusion. With the loss of all they had, but the boat and their lives, in about two days they overtook the other boats, and, with frontier generosity, were admitted to share the provisions and clothes of their fellow-travelers.

After leaving the dangerous neighborhood of the Chickamauga, the navigation was tolerably smooth and safe to the "Muscle Shoals," in the present State of Alabama. At the head of these shoals Elk River empties into the Tennessee, on the right hand. The passage over the shoals was rough and difficult, but the boats all got through without any serious damage. After leaving the shoals, they were once or twice fired at by Indians on the shore, but at too great a distance to do much harm. The channel of the river becoming wide and the water deep, they arrived without farther diffi-

culty at the mouth of the Tennessee, and landed on the spot where is now the town of Paducah, in Kentucky. This was on the 15th of March, nearly three months from their embarkation on the Holston.

At this point some of the boats parted company with Colonel Donaldson, and went down the Ohio, bound for Illinois and Natchez. The remainder had a toilsome task, in rowing against the rapid current of the Ohio to the mouth of the Cumberland, which they reached on the 24th of March. The river appeared smaller than they expected to find it, and when they determined to ascend it, it was with some doubt whether it was the Cumberland or some other stream. On the 31st, however, all their doubts were agreeably removed, by meeting with Colonel Richard Henderson, who was then employed in running the line between North Carolina and Virginia.

Having left Colonel Henderson, who gave them full information of the route they were to pursue, the party, now in good spirits, though worn down by the fatigues of a long and arduous voyage, continued to ascend the river. They were now at liberty to refresh themselves by landing occasionally, and shooting buffalo

and other game, without any danger from lurking Indians. Proceeding in this way, they arrived at The Bluff on the 24th of April, when Mrs. Robertson and Mrs. Peyton were safely delivered to their expecting and anxious husbands, and the whole party welcomed to such hospitality as frontier cabins could afford.

CHAPTER V.

FARTHER ACCOUNT OF THE COLONY AT THE
BLUFF.

It was stated in the last chapter, that the winter of 1779-80 was excessively cold. Cumberland River was frozen over for a good while, so that people crossed it on foot as easily as they now do on the wire bridge at Nashville. The few cattle and hogs belonging to the Bluff settlement mostly died from the severity of the weather and the want of suitable food. Even the wild animals—the deer, buffalo, and bear—amidst the deep snows and hard freezes of that winter, became so wretchedly poor that they were scarcely fit to be eaten. To add to the distress of the population, a good part of the little crop of corn, raised in the preceding summer, was carried off by a freshet.

The party that came by water, as related in the preceding chapter, did not all remain at The Bluff, but built their cabins at several

points, not very distant. Colonel Donaldson himself settled near the mouth of Stone's River, a few miles above The Bluff, at the place now known as "Clover Bottom." It should have been mentioned before that Mr. Renfroe and some others stopped on their way, at Red River, near the present town of Clarksville. In respect to provisions, these separate settlements fared neither better nor worse than the main one at the Lick. In their privations, they might all console themselves with thinking that, if bread was scarce, the meat was lean enough to be eaten without any.

But if the severity of the season had caused the new and feeble colony to suffer in one particular, it had doubtless been beneficial in another. It probably kept the hunting and war parties of the Cherokees at home, and saved the settlers from an attack before they had time to erect stations for defense. The Cumberland settlement was nearer to the Cherokees, at least to the very hostile tribe of the Chickamaugas, than the colonies in East Tennessee. The settlers were also more exposed to the Chickasaws, if that nation should prove unfriendly; and the northern tribes had the advantage of coming to The Bluff by water.

To the daring men who had planted themselves on the banks of the Cumberland, it was evident enough that their only earthly dependence for safety and life was upon themselves. Their nearest white neighbors were in Kentucky, and in a condition too much like their own, to be able to render assistance, in case of need. They were separated by a rough wilderness of three hundred miles from the older colonies of Watauga and Nolichucky. North Carolina and Virginia were struggling through the darkest period of the Revolutionary War, and could spare neither a man nor a musket for the defense of a distant frontier.

It was stated in the former Book of this history, that when the first white men settled in Tennessee, there were no Indians living there, except some Cherokees in the south-eastern part. When Robertson's colony took up their abode on the Cumberland, there was no sign to be seen showing that the country had ever been cultivated or even cleared. It is true that, for some distance around the French Lick, there were no bushes, and scarcely any trees growing; but this was no doubt because the growth had been kept down by the browsing and tramping of the buffaloes and other large animals that

resorted, in immense numbers, to the lick. There was no appearance, in all Middle Tennessee, of such clearings as the Indians were accustomed to have around their towns or permanent dwelling-places.

Yet there was proof on all hands that the country had once been inhabited—by whom, or how long before, the Indians could not tell. Near to all the finest springs, and in other places, generally on the rivers and creeks, there were, and are yet to be seen, large numbers of graves, containing human bones. When the first of the present race of white men were buried in Tennessee, it is probable there were more graves here than would serve for all the white persons that have lived and died here since; and yet nobody, now living in the world, has any more knowledge of the people who made and who filled these graves than if they had never existed. •

But, besides the graves, there are other things to prove that Tennessee, and indeed all the Mississippi Valley, was once occupied by a race of men that has disappeared from the face of the earth. There are stone walls, now under ground, that the Indians had not skill enough to build. These walls, as well as the graves,

have trees of the greatest age growing above them, and, for any thing that we know, many generations of such trees may have flourished and rotted on the same spot. In numberless places in Tennessee, the plow-boy, every year, throws up bones that may have belonged to men who died before Pompey the Great—it may be, before the Deluge.

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CHAPTER VI.

INDIAN HOSTILITIES.

It was not long that the young community at The Bluff, and the still feebler stations around it, were permitted by the Indians to improve their new homes in peace and security. Instigated by the British officers and agents, and impelled by their own love of war and plunder, all the tribes, north and south, combined, in the spring of 1780, to attack the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The most advanced, and therefore the most exposed, of all this long border, was the colony at The Bluff. It could be easily approached from north, south, east, and west, without the invaders being required to pass through or near any other settlement of white men.

The spring weather, which relieved, in some degree, the sufferings inflicted by the preceding hard winter, brought the Indians at the same

time with the rattle-snakes. Small parties from various tribes were lurking continually in the neighborhood, watching every opportunity to commit robbery and murder. If the women went out to milk the cows, they were frequently shot down in sight of the station. The men could not bring in a stick of wood for fuel, but at the great risk of their lives. Every hunter that ventured to kill a deer or a turkey, expected to fight his way back into the fort, if he was so fortunate as to return at all. If some were employed in clearing and fencing a patch for corn, as many more had to keep watch, rifle in hand, against the creeping savage.

The barbarous murders, committed almost every day, do not furnish very entertaining subjects for our young readers; but we shall fail to give any thing like a true history of the times, unless we mention some of them. Two men, named Keywood and Milliken, were attacked on Richland Creek, and the latter killed. Joseph Hay was killed on the Lick Branch, and old Mr. Bernard, at Denton's Lick, had his head cut off and carried away. Another man, named Milliken, was killed and his head cut off, in the same neighborhood. In July, Jonathan Jennings was killed at an island just above

The Bluff. Higher up the river, the Indians killed Ned Carver and Isaac Neely, and made a prisoner of Neely's daughter. A little later, they shot James Mayfield, near Eaton's Station, on the north side of the Cumberland. Shortly after, at the same place, they killed Jacob Stump, and pursued Frederick Stump into the station.

In the fall of this year, four men—Balestine, Shockley, Goin, and Kennedy—were killed at Mansco's Lick; and Mansco's Station was abandoned. Some of those who had stayed in it, went to the station at The Bluff, and others to the Kentucky settlements. After this, as Spencer was returning from a hunt, with several horses loaded with meat, he was fired at by the Indians, but not hurt. However, to save his own life, he was compelled to leave his horses in their hands. The same band stole other horses at Station Camp Creek, and then attacked Asher's Station, where they killed and scalped two men, and got some more horses. On their route they were met and attacked by Alexander Buchanan and other hunters, one or two of the Indians were killed, and all the horses recovered.

The little settlement on Red River was not

more fortunate than the others. The attack on this place was made by Choctaws and Chickasaws. First and last they killed between fifteen and twenty persons in this settlement, and carried off all the horses and other property they could find. The few who survived the slaughter left Red River, and sought protection at The Bluff. In the course of the same year, Freeland's Station, south of The Bluff, was assaulted, and one man killed. Buchanan, Robertson, and others, pursued these Indians to Duck River, without being able to overtake them. About the same time, Philip Catron, riding from Freeland's Station to The Bluff, was shot and badly wounded, but made his way to the fort and recovered.

In the fall of the year, a party of Cherokees stole some horses from The Bluff. About fifteen men pursued them, and found them camped on the south side of Harpeth. They attacked the camp at night, drove off the Indians, and retook the horses. Colonel Donaldson, having taken two boats and a party of men to bring down the corn he had made at Clover Bottom, was returning with the boats loaded. The Colonel having left his boat for a short time, those on the water were fired upon, and all

killed or wounded, except one white man and a free negro, who swam to land, and made their way to The Bluff. One of the killed was John Robertson, son of Captain James Robertson. One of the boats floated down the stream, and was found the next day, passing by The Bluff with a dead man in it. The wounded men were made prisoners by the Indians, but Colonel Donaldson escaped to Mansco's Station.

In the course of the summer, the buffalo, bear, and deer became fat again, and, in defiance of the Indians, there was no want of meat among the settlers at The Bluff. Twenty men went to hunt on Caney Fork, and brought down their meat in canoes. During the hunt they killed one hundred and five bears, seventy-five buffalo, and eighty deer. But bread was still wanting, and some of the settlers became discouraged by the privations and calamities to which they were daily exposed, without any prospect of speedy relief. A good many of them went off to Kentucky and Illinois; those that remained, moved in from the outer stations to Freeland's and The Bluff. In this way the little Cumberland colony passed the hard year 1780.

CHAPTER VII.

INDIAN HOSTILITIES CONTINUED.

THE year 1781 brought with it no cessation or abatement of the Indian war upon the white settlements in Middle Tennessee. In the dead of winter, a party of Cherokees made an attempt in the night to get possession of the block-house at Freeland's Station. They found means silently to loosen the chain that held the gate, and were inside the stockade before any alarm was given. Captain Robertson, who was staying there all night, was the first to discover the danger, and the other inmates of the station were soon aroused. In the fight which ensued, Major Lucas and a negro belonging to Robertson were killed; and one of the savages fell by the rifle of Captain Robertson. The Indians, finding that they did not catch the people in the station off their guard, soon left the premises and vanished in the surrounding cane.

The settlers having before this all gone into

Freeland's Station and The Bluff, the Indians now employed themselves in burning the deserted cabins, and the fences around the little corn-fields, and in destroying whatever valuable things they could not take off with them. At the same time they lost no opportunity to kill and scalp every man, woman, and child they could safely attack. A Mrs. Dunham having sent her little daughter out of the fort for something, the savages seized and scalped the child, but did not kill her. The mother hearing her cries, rushed out to save her, and was severely wounded by a rifle-ball. Both mother and daughter got back into the fort, and lived many years after.

In the early spring, a large number of Cherokee warriors joined the party that had infested the settlement during the winter, and the Indians felt themselves strong enough to storm the Bluff Fort. The attack was well planned, and but for a fortunate accident, might have succeeded. The Indians were divided into two parties, one of which lay in the cane along the branch that empties into the river just south of Broad street. The others hid themselves in the cedars along the ground where the Franklin Turnpike enters the city. Early in the morn-

ing, the party at the branch sent forward three warriors, who fired at the fort, and immediately retreated. Nineteen men from the fort mounted their horses and pursued them to the branch, where they were fired upon by those lying in ambush with fatal effect.

The men from the fort at once dismounted, and returned the fire of the Indians. While the contest about the branch was at the hottest, the other body of the enemy rushed out from their concealment, and formed themselves in a line between the fort and the men who had left it. Five or six of the nineteen were already dead, and as many more badly wounded; and there was no way for the remainder to reach the fort but by passing through the line of fresh warriors. At this critical moment, the horses that had been abandoned at the beginning of the fight, became frightened, and rushed by the fort toward the Lick Branch. The rascally Cherokees could not resist the temptation to steal horse-flesh, and many of them left their places in the line and ran off in pursuit. This left an open space, through which the brave remnant of the nineteen might retreat into the fort.

The dogs belonging to the fort were also of sig-

nal service upon this occasion. Being trained to hate Indians, when they heard the yells of the savages, they ran toward the branch and made a furious attack upon the Indians in the unbroken part of the line. While they were employed in defending themselves against the teeth of their four-footed assailants, the retreating white men could more safely pass them into the shelter of the block-house. The warriors, finding that their plan had failed, desisted from any farther attempt during that day. At night, however, another body, who had not been in the battle, fired upon the fort, but were frightened off by the discharge of a small cannon, loaded with stones and pieces of pot-metal instead of balls.

In the retreat, Isaac Lucas had his thigh broken by a ball, and of course could go no farther. As he lay upon the ground, an Indian ran toward him to take his scalp. Disabled as he was, Lucas managed to bring his rifle to bear upon him, fired, and the Indian fell dead. Lucas was taken safely into the fort. Edward Swanson was also pursued by a single Indian, who put his gun against his body and snapped it. Upon this, Swanson seized the muzzle and twisted the gun round so as to throw the

priming out of the pan. Seeing this, the Indian clubbed his gun, and knocked Swanson down. At this instant, John Buchanan stepped from the fort, shot and wounded the Indian, and thus saved the life of his friend Swanson.

After the battle, only two dead Indians could be found ; but as they got nineteen horses, with all their equipments, it is likely they carried off the dead and wounded bodies of a good many more. A remarkable incident may be mentioned here, though it happened some time after this. David Hood was shot down, scalped, and trampled on by the Indians, near the French Lick. After they had left him for dead, Hood got up, and made his way, as well as he could, toward The Bluff. To his dismay, he came upon the same Indians again, who killed him again, as they thought, and left his body on the snow. Some men from the fort made a search next day, found the body, and laid it in an out-house as dead. Strange as it is, he revived, and lived many years afterward.

It was probably about this time that the inmates of a block-house on White's Creek, about ten miles north of Nashville, would seem to have been utterly destroyed. Some years after, a family by the name of Webber, settling in

that neighborhood, discovered the house still standing, and hundreds of bullets buried in the logs. When the ground around it was put into cultivation, bullets were turned up by the plow for many years. The settlers at The Bluff knew nothing of the house, or of those who built it. The supposition is that they were a party of emigrants who had taken refuge there, and of whom not one was left to tell the story of their destruction.

CHAPTER VIII.

DESPAIR OF THE SETTLERS—ROBERTSON'S
INFLUENCE.

DURING the next two years, the Cumberland colony was unceasingly harassed by Indian depredations, similar to those described in the last two chapters. The details there given will suffice to show the character of these hostilities, and the degree of suffering which they were calculated to inflict. The years 1782 and 1783 abound with material for a volume of such narratives, but it can serve no good purpose to insert them here. In a state of things where people had to be constantly guarded in fetching water from the spring, and where, when two or more men stopped to talk, they turned their backs to each other for the better chance of seeing an Indian crawling through the cane, it is not necessary to dwell upon the horrid particulars of massacre, in order to present a picture of the universal distress.

At length, so gloomy and nearly desperate had become the condition of the Cumberland settlement, that the inhabitants held a council at The Bluff, in which it was proposed to quit the country entirely, and betake themselves in a body to some other of the more fortunate parts of the frontier. James Robertson, almost alone, opposed the proposition. He argued, remonstrated, and exerted all his great personal influence to prevent such a step. He showed that they would be more exposed to Indian attacks, in any attempt to reach the settlements in East Tennessee or Kentucky, than they were even at The Bluff. To go to the Illinois would require boats, and they could not go into the woods to get timber to make them without almost certain destruction. In a word, he proved that, bad as their condition was at The Bluff, they would only make matters worse by attempting to leave it.

In 1783 came the end of the Revolutionary War, and peace was proclaimed between Great Britain and the United States. As it had been the policy of Great Britain, during that war, to encourage and assist the Indians in their warfare against the western border, so now that the war had ceased, the people on the frontier

had grounds to hope that the hostility of the tribes would cease with it. And, to some extent, this was doubtless the result; but, in this time, other motives had begun to urge the savage warriors to plunder and massacre. The passion of revenge, and the policy of checking the advancing settlements, before they should occupy their favorite hunting-grounds, conspired to place the red and the white men at continual enmity.

To add to these standing causes of jealousy and hatred on the part of the Indians, the General Assembly of North Carolina, in this year, passed an act fixing the boundary of the Chickasaw and Cherokee hunting-grounds, and greatly reducing their limits. This was done simply by authority of the State, and without any treaty or *talk* with the head-men of those tribes.

This act plainly shows that the members of that assembly did not understand the proper course to be taken with Indians. If a treaty had been held, the same territory might have been acquired for a very trifling expense, and the Indians would have thought that they were fairly dealt by. As it was, they saw in this act a determination not to ask their con-

sent in disposing of these lands, and they resented it accordingly.

In the second chapter of this Book, some account is given of the North American possessions of Spain. About this time, (1784,) there was good reason to think that the Spanish authorities of Louisiana were secretly stirring up the southern Indians against our western frontier. There was no war between the United States and the Government of Spain, but the rival claims of the two nations in the Mississippi Valley, were understood to furnish a motive for this unjustifiable tampering with the savages. In their intercourse with the Indians, the Spanish officials usually employed French traders, who had been longer in the country, and were better acquainted with Indian character, than the Spaniards. These traders were Frenchmen who had remained in the country after Louisiana had been ceded by France to Spain, and many of them had Indian wives and families of half-breed children.

Under the impression, which the state of things was calculated to produce, James Robertson, now holding the commission of Colonel, addressed a letter, in 1784, to the Spanish authorities in Louisiana, upon the subject of

Indian hostilities. The letter was, as it should have been, polite in tone, and guarded in its language. The answer received was all that could have been expected or desired, as far as words would go. But for any effect it was ever known to have on the conduct of the Indians, this correspondence amounted to nothing more than a courtly ceremonial. The marauding expeditions of the savages were as frequent and destructive after it as they had been before.

In defiance of all hinderances, the colony on the Cumberland continued gradually to improve, and was occasionally strengthened by the incoming of fresh parties of emigrants. Nothing worthy of special notice occurred in the year 1785. The usual amount of Indian murders and robberies we deem it useless to mention. But in 1786, commissioners, appointed by Congress, made a treaty with the chiefs of the Chickasaw Nation, settling the boundary line between them and the whites. It was believed that this treaty would have a good effect in securing the peace and friendship of that tribe, and, in a short time after, a great many came to Middle Tennessee, from the old States, who had been kept away only by their dread of Indians.

CHAPTER IX.

EXPEDITION TO COLDWATER.

THE General Assembly of North Carolina had provided for the raising of a battalion of mounted troops, to be commanded by Major Evans, for the defense of the Cumberland frontier. But the business proceeded slowly, notwithstanding the earnest representations of Colonel Bledsoe and Colonel Robertson upon the subject. At length it was resolved to make an expedition into the Indian country, with what forces could be raised in Cumberland, without waiting for farther authority or assistance from the State. The experience of the East Tennessee settlements had proved that the most effectual way to check Indian aggressions, was to attack the savages at home. With this view, a hundred and thirty men were embodied, from all the Cumberland settlements, for an invasion of the Cherokees. This body was commanded by Colonel Robertson, and, under

him, Colonel Robert Hays and Colonel James Ford.

In the month of June, 1787, the troops started for the Cherokee town on Coldwater Creek, that empties into the Tennessee on the southern side, just below the Muscle Shoals, and near the present town of Tuscumbia, in Alabama. They had along two Chickasaws as guides, and, without any accident, reached the Tennessee, at the foot of the shoals. By the help of a boat belonging to the Indians, which they found here, they crossed the river in the night, and halted on the other side, to prepare for farther movements. They then entered a beaten path that led off from the river, and, after riding several miles, came to Coldwater Creek, and the Cherokee village on the opposite side, and about three hundred yards from the Tennessee River.

Colonel Robertson, with most of the troops, crossed the creek, and rode right into the town. The Indians, surprised and frightened, ran down the western bank of the stream, hotly pursued by the horsemen. Captain Rains, who with several others had been left on the eastern side of the creek, ran down also toward the river, and met the Indians as they hurried across to escape their pursuers on the western

side. Rains's party delivered a deadly fire that brought down three of the warriors on the spot, and wounded others. The Cherokees then took to their boats, lying in the mouth of the creek, and paddled out into the river, where they were repeatedly fired upon by the white men from the bank. Many of the Indians jumped from the boats into the water, and were shot while swimming, like so many otters.

In this affair twenty or thirty savages were slain, mostly Creek warriors, and, at the same time, three French traders and a white woman, who had got into a boat, in company with the Indians, and refused to surrender. The Frenchmen and the white woman were buried by the troops, the town burned, and all the domestic animals destroyed. Their duty having been faithfully discharged, the two Chickasaw guides were presented each with a horse, a gun, blankets, etc., and sent away to their own people. Five or six French traders were made prisoners, and possession taken of all their goods on hand, consisting of sugar, coffee, blankets, powder, lead, knives, tomahawks, and other articles suited to the Indian market. The troops then prepared to return to The Bluff.

The French prisoners, and the goods taken

from them, were put into several boats, under the charge of Jonathan Denton, Benjamin Drake, and John and Moses Eskridge. These were directed to descend the river, while the mounted men rode down on the south side to some convenient place for crossing. After being lost for a time in the pine woods, these latter came to the river, where they found the boats, and crossed over at a place where the banks were favorable on both sides. At the encampment on the north side of the river, the prisoners were put into a canoe, with some sugar, coffee, and other provisions, and were allowed to go up the stream. The boats, with the captured goods on board, were directed to proceed down the Tennessee to its mouth, then up the Ohio and Cumberland home. The troops struck across the country, and arrived at The Bluff, without having a single man killed or wounded in the expedition.

While the boats were on their way, another piece of good fortune befell the party. Several boats loaded with goods, belonging to some other French traders, who were on board, were met coming up the river. The Frenchmen, thinking that our people were countrymen of theirs returning from the Cherokee towns, fired

off their guns by way of salute. The Americans came alongside, with their guns charged, and easily made prisoners of the deluded Frenchmen. They and their cargo of goods were taken up Cumberland, nearly to The Bluff. There the prisoners received a canoe, with permission to go down the stream, as far as might please them, leaving their goods, wares, and merchandise behind.

Some of these traders, it is likely, were acting under the instructions of the Spanish Government, and exciting the Cherokees to hostilities against our western frontier. Others of them were, however, probably innocent of such designs, and only traded with the Indians with a view to the profit to be made thereby. Still these latter, as well as the more guilty ones, deserved to lose their goods, and to suffer whatever rough treatment they met with besides. They knew very well that the powder, and lead, and tomahawks, which they furnished the Indians, would, whether they desired it or not, in all likelihood, be used for warlike purposes against the whites. Such articles are, according to the law of nations, contraband, and self-preservation justified the colonists in preventing the trade, and punishing the traders

CHAPTER X.

MEASURES OF DEFENSE AGAINST THE INDIANS.

THE impression made upon the Creeks and Cherokees, by the energetic measures related in the preceding chapter, did not prove to be of long continuance. Small bodies of them were, soon after, prowling among the weaker settlements, and occasionally murdering individuals and unprotected families. Among the victims of their cruelty about this time, was Colonel Anthony Bledsoe, a man much beloved and confided in by the people of the West, and who had rendered signal service to the new settlements, both in East Tennessee and on the Cumberland. In the pursuit of one of these marauding bands, an Indian boy was captured, the son of a Creek warrior, and afterward exchanged for a son of Mr. Naine, that had been carried off by the Creeks some time before.

The troops ordered by North Carolina, for the protection of the Cumberland colony, came

in small companies, each one usually guarding a party of emigrants through the dangers of the wilderness. When arrived, the soldiers were placed at the different stations throughout the country, and added much to the security of the inhabitants. Colonel Robertson also organized companies of patrols, or rangers, whose business it was to keep in motion along the most exposed parts of the frontier, and be constantly on the watch for Indian enemies. One of these companies, under command of Captain Rains, became distinguished for the skill with which it could detect Indian signs, and for the courage and perseverance with which it pursued and attacked the skulking foe.

These defensive measures, and the greater safety of the settlements arising therefrom, caused the population of Cumberland to increase quite rapidly in the year 1788. Still, Indian hostilities were not entirely suppressed, and danger was to be constantly apprehended from the unfriendly disposition of the Creeks and Cherokees. It was generally believed that these Indians were acting under the influence of the Spanish officials in Louisiana and Florida. To obtain farther information upon this point, Colonel Robertson addressed a letter, in

very smooth and friendly terms, to McGillevray, the head-chief of the Creek Nation, asking what causes of complaint his nation had against our people, and promising, if any wrong had been done them, that it should be redressed.

This letter was taken to the chief by Mr. Ewing and Mr. Hoggat, who brought back an answer of quite a moderate and friendly tone. McGillevray said, in substance, that, during the War of the Revolution, his people had been the friends and allies of Great Britain, and had made war accordingly. After peace was made, he said, the Creeks had no hostile feelings against the white settlers, until some of their warriors had been killed at Coldwater. They had now been sufficiently revenged for this affair, and he would endeavor to prevent them from any farther hostilities against the people of Cumberland. Such were the sentiments which the great chief thought proper to express upon paper, but they had no effect upon the behavior of the Creeks, who continued their depredations as before.

Colonel Robertson was as shrewd and prudent as he was energetic and upright. On the 3d of August, 1788, he wrote again to McGille-

vray, expressing great satisfaction with the reply of that chief to his former letter. He proceeded farther to inform him, that, from feelings of high regard toward McGillevray, a lot in the new town of Nashville, on the Cumberland, had been presented to him, and the deed recorded in his name. He even went so far as to ask him if he would accept the gift of a rich tract of land in Middle Tennessee. In conclusion, he intimated that, if the people of the western settlements should be kindly treated by the Spaniards, they might be induced to break off all connection with the Atlantic States, and put themselves under the protection of the Spanish Government.

Properly to understand these proceedings of Colonel Robertson, the reader should look again into the second chapter of this Book. In order to extend and strengthen their own dominion in North America, the first policy of the Spaniards was to cut off our western settlements by the agency of the Indian tribes along the frontier. When this should fail, their next object was to induce the people west of the mountains to attach themselves to the Spanish province of Louisiana, for the sake of having peace with the Indians, and the free navigation of the

Mississippi. By encouraging them in this notion, Robertson expected to secure their influence with the Indians in favor of the Cumberland colony, and he was sure that McGillevray would communicate to the Spanish authorities what he had said in his letter.

But was there any thought among the western people of joining themselves to the Spanish provinces? Perhaps there was, with a few, and at a later period the feeling became both stronger and more extensive. Under all the circumstances, such an inclination would not be unnatural, nor altogether without excuse. It was essential to the prosperity of the Tennessee colonies that they should be protected against the Indians, and have the free use of the Mississippi River; and both North Carolina and the Federal Government had so far failed to obtain for them either of these advantages. However, Colonel Robertson's immediate object was only to secure peace to the frontiers, until the settlements should become strong enough to protect themselves.

CHAPTER XI.

GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL ADMINISTRATION.

So far we have been occupied exclusively with the relations between the Cumberland settlers and the Indians, and the efforts of the new community to protect itself against external enemies. It is now time that we should look a little at its internal regulations, and the means employed to preserve order and enforce justice among the inhabitants. For this purpose we must return to the year 1780, when the colony was first planted. And here the special thing to be remarked is, that although the territory was within the acknowledged limits of North Carolina, yet for several years that State had as little concern with the government of Cumberland as did the State of Massachusetts.

From Nashville, the capital of Tennessee, to Raleigh, now the seat of government of North Carolina, is a distance of six hundred miles, and in 1780, more than half of it was an un-

broken wilderness. Besides, the parent State was too entirely absorbed in the War of the Revolution, to allow her attention to be directed to the concerns of a little cluster of cabins, on the bank of the Cumberland. James Robertson's colony was therefore left, in its own way, to govern itself at home, as well as to protect itself against enemies abroad. The people at The Bluff had to do for themselves all that is now done for us by the combined agency of the State and Federal Governments.

As the pioneer settlers at The Bluff were, some of them, the same men, and all of the same character, as those who planted and cherished the community at Watauga, so they naturally undertook to build up a society at the former, by the same methods which had succeeded so well at the latter place. They elected persons as trustees, and, by a written agreement called a covenant, agreed to refer all differences and disputes to their decision. By this simple plan, and by taking care that the trustees should be men of sense and integrity, justice was administered, and the rights of all secured. Every signer of the covenant was entitled to a tract of land, which was secured to him by the public faith of the whole colony.

These trustees were not only in the place of judges and juries, but they also exercised the right of performing the ceremony of marriage. Colonel Robertson, who was one of them, married the first couple in Middle Tennessee—Captain Leiper and his wife. Another trustee—Mr. Shaw—married four couples in one day—Edward Swanson to Mrs. Carvin, James Freeland to Mrs. Maxwell, Cornelius Riddle to Miss Jane Mulherrin, and John Tucker to Miss Jenny Herod. These marriages could not be strictly lawful; but people who wished to be married, could not reasonably be expected to wait for preachers to come amongst them, or for a slow State like North Carolina to appoint justices of the peace in the Cumberland colony. These trustees, for the various services rendered by them, received neither a salary nor fees, though the clerk employed by them was allowed enough to pay for pen, ink, and paper.

In 1782, when the Cumberland settlement had begun to attract some attention in North Carolina, the General Assembly passed a *pre-emption* law, giving to each family in the colony six hundred and forty acres of land, and the same quantity to every single man who had settled there before the 1st of June, 1780.

Another law was passed, making a liberal allowance in lands, called *bounty*, to the North Carolina soldiers engaged in the Revolutionary War. Provision was made for these bounty-lands to be taken in Middle Tennessee. The same General Assembly also bestowed on General Nathanael Greene, of the Continental Army, twenty-five thousand acres of land, which were afterward laid off for him on Duck River.

In 1783, the North Carolina Assembly laid off the county of Davidson, the first in what is now Middle Tennessee. It was so named after General William Davidson, a native of Mecklenburg county, N. C., a brave man and a meritorious officer, who was killed by the Tories, at the Catawba River, in 1781. At the same session also, the Assembly established a town at The Bluff, to be called Nashville. This name was intended to commemorate the character and services of Colonel Francis Nash, another son of the "Old North State," who fell, bravely doing his duty, at the battle of Germantown. For a good while the place was often called and spelled *Nashborough*, in place of the true name.

Absalom Tatum, Isaac Shelby, and Anthony

Bledsoe were appointed commissioners to lay off the preëmption and bounty-lands in Middle Tennessee. This was the last public employment of Colonel Shelby, as a citizen of North Carolina. He shortly after removed to Kentucky, where he continued to exhibit the same noble traits of character which had endeared him to the people of Watauga and Cumberland. He became the first governor of Kentucky, and was elected again in 1812. At the latter period, he commanded the Kentucky troops, under General Harrison, on the Canada frontier. He died, full of years and honors, in 1826.

CHAPTER XII.

GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL ADMINISTRATION.

ON the 6th of October, 1783, was held the first county court, in the new county of Davidson. Of this body Isaac Bledsoe was chairman, and Andrew Ewing, clerk. Among other orders made at this term, was one for building a court-house and a jail, the former to be eighteen, and the latter fourteen feet square, of hewed logs. Headon Wells was authorized to build a "water grist-mill" on Thomas's Creek—the first erection of the kind in Middle Tennessee. At the same time an order was made for opening a road from Nashville to Mansco's Station, which had been previously laid out by a committee of the trustees.

In 1785, the General Assembly of North Carolina passed an act establishing Davidson Academy, which has since grown into the University of Tennessee, at Nashville. For the support of the institution, the Assembly granted

certain lands, that were to be tax-free for ninety-nine years. And in this place, as well as elsewhere, the remark may be made that, in all the measures adopted by North Carolina for the protection or advancement of her western settlements, not one dollar was ever taken from the general treasury of the State. Every thing, even troops to guard them against Indians, was to be paid for by western lands, or by taxes on western persons and property, kept separate from the general State treasury. This policy may not have been unjust, but surely it does not look quite generous.

At the same session of the Assembly, an act was passed, directing a wagon-road to be opened from the lower end of Clinch Mountain, in East Tennessee, to Nashville. Up to this time, emigrants going to The Bluff had followed the old hunter's trace, through the southern part of Kentucky. This road was intended to open a shorter route, across the Cumberland Mountain. This so-called mountain is only a high table-land, well suited to both agriculture and pasturage, but which, at the time we speak of, had hardly been visited by a white man, and was not much resorted to by Indian hunters. Though lying directly between Watauga and

The Bluff, the travel between those places had taken a roundabout way to the north of it.

During the same year, 1785, the Assembly of North Carolina, of which Colonel Robertson was a member, passed a law that three hundred men should be embodied, and kept constantly in service, for the defense of the Cumberland settlements. At any time, when their military services were not needed against the Indians, these troops were to be employed in opening the road across Cumberland Mountain, which had been directed in a previous act. The law farther provided that the men composing the militia force should be paid in land, at the rate of eight hundred acres to each for a year's service. These lands were to be laid off west of Cumberland Mountain, according to the uniform policy of the State, to make the western settlements pay their own expenses.

At the same session of the Legislature of North Carolina, Davidson county was divided, and a new county organized, and called Sumner. It was so named in honor of General Jethro Sumner, who had served in the North Carolina line of the Continental Army throughout the whole of the Revolutionary War. The first session of the county court of Sumner was

held in April, 1787, at a private house—that is, at the log-cabin of John Hamilton. David Shelby was appointed clerk, and John Harden, Jr., sheriff. Clerks and sheriffs were, in that day, appointed by the courts, and not elected by the people, as they are, at this time, in Tennessee.

At the session of the General Assembly of North Carolina, held at Tarborough, in the year 1787, James Robertson and David Hays were present as members from Davidson county. It was probably at their instance that the Legislature made farther provision for completing the road across Cumberland Mountain. For this purpose the Cumberland militia were divided into classes, which were called out in rotation to work on the road. In November, 1788, Colonel Robertson gave notice, in the "State Gazette of North Carolina," that the road was opened all the way, and that, at stated times, a guard would be in readiness, at Campbell's Station, to attend upon parties of emigrants through the wilderness. This guard was continued for several years, and added greatly to the security of travelers.

The members from Davidson also presented to the Assembly a written statement regarding

the condition of the settlements in Middle Tennessee. In that document it is stated that thirty-three of the inhabitants had been murdered by Indians during that year. The hardships and sufferings, already endured by the colonists, are strongly set forth, and the dangers to be dreaded for the future are pointed out. Among other things, the evil influence exercised by the Spaniards of Louisiana upon the Creeks, Cherokees, and Chickasaws, is mentioned as a heavy grievance, and the claim of that nation to the exclusive use of the Mississippi is made a subject of indignant complaint. The memorial concludes with a broad hint to North Carolina, that, if it is too burdensome for her to defend and cherish her western settlements, the inhabitants would prefer to be handed over to the guardianship of the Federal Government.

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CHAPTER XIII

INCREASE OF POPULATION—CURRENCY OF
CUMBERLAND.

ABOUT this time, and for several succeeding years, the population of the Cumberland colony rapidly increased. Sufficient land, as rich as any in the world, had now been put into cultivation to produce an abundance of corn for bread, and for feeding hogs and other stock. The road lately made across the mountain region enabled families from East Tennessee, and from the old States, to bring with them much of their household goods, and the means of more comfortable living; and the guard of fifty riflemen secured them against Indian depredations on the way. The small community at The Bluff had now so much expanded, particularly down the Cumberland, that it became necessary again to divide Davidson county, and to organize a third, which took the name of Tennessee.

In 1789, the three counties were laid off into a judicial district, and a judge appointed to hold courts therein. John McNairy was the first circuit judge in Middle Tennessee. It is rather singular that the district was called Mero, after the name of the Spanish Governor of Louisiana. Our readers will remember Colonel Robertson's letter to McGillevray, as mentioned in the tenth chapter. Well, either on account of the hint then given, or because he was naturally a mild and kindly man, this Governor Mero had behaved in a very friendly manner toward the Cumberland boatmen and other traders who had visited the Spanish settlements. Perhaps this naming of the district was another piece of management, on the part of Colonel Robertson, to flatter the Spanish official into a continuance of good behavior.

Our readers, perhaps, had a laugh over the account, given in the first Book, of the currency of the State of Franklin. But as far as a circulating medium, or a substitute for money, is concerned, the people of Franklin were at least as well off as their brothers, the backwoodsmen of Cumberland. The records of the county court of Davidson

show, in a very satisfactory manner, what was the commercial condition of its inhabitants in the year 1787. The business before the court was to supply the ways and means of supporting the battalion of mounted troops, under command of Major Evans. If such a thing had now to be done, the court would at once levy a tax to be paid, in gold or silver, or good bank-bills, to the sheriff, and by him to the county treasury.

But in 1787, it was managed differently. The court then ordered that one-fourth of each man's tax be paid in corn, two-fourths in beef, pork, bear-meat, or venison, one-eighth in salt, and *one-eighth in money*. These articles were to be delivered at a particular place in each captain's company, and then conveyed to the troops. It was to answer the expense of this last transportation that the one-eighth in money was required. For these articles the following prices were to be allowed: for corn, four shillings per bushel; beef, five dollars per hundred; pork, eight dollars; good bear-meat, without bones, eight dollars; venison, ten shillings per hundred; *salt, sixteen dollars per bushel*. The reader will notice that venison was then much cheaper than beef or pork, and that salt,

at that time, cost about forty times its present price.

As we took occasion to remark, when speaking of the revenue of Franklin, the want of money is not always a sign of poverty. A good and plentiful circulating medium is certainly a great convenience, and essential to the business of a commercial people; but the inhabitants of Cumberland had so little commerce that their transactions could be pretty well managed without money. In this respect, indeed, they were very little behind the people of the Atlantic States. Men of considerable property had begun to seek homes in the western settlements, but they brought little gold or silver with them, for the plain reason that there was very little in the places from which they came. A war of eight years, which had completely prevented all foreign trade, had left the whole country nearly destitute of money.

As the settlers in Middle Tennessee were citizens of North Carolina, and subject to its laws, so they were entitled to be paid out of the State treasury, for services rendered to the public. Those who had been wounded and disabled, and the families of those who had been killed in the Indian wars, had a fair claim to be provided

for by the State. Those who had furnished horses, arms, or provisions for the army, were entitled to compensation, as also those whose property had been destroyed or carried off by the public enemy. For all such claims, a law of North Carolina provided that certificates should be issued to the claimant, which should be received as money in the payment of taxes. These certificates could be passed from one to another, among the people, and to some extent answered the purpose of the bank-notes now in use.

The great scarcity of money among the Cumberland people was caused, not so much by having nothing to sell, as by the want of a market. The white communities nearest to them were those of Kentucky and East Tennessee, and in them the inhabitants had a surplus of every thing that those of Middle Tennessee wanted to sell. The only chance for the latter to get even a little money for their produce, was to take it in flat-boats down the Cumberland, Ohio, and Mississippi, to the Spanish towns of Natchez and New Orleans. Then, after paying a tax—sometimes a very heavy one—for the privilege, they could sell, generally for a very low price, and then return

on foot, through the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations of Indians, a distance of about twelve hundred miles from New Orleans to Nashville. Full of hardship and danger as it was, this trip had now begun to be frequently undertaken.

CHAPTER XIV.

DISASTROUS ATTEMPT TO REACH NASHVILLE
BY WATER.

IN the fourth chapter, we gave an account of the passage of the party under Colonel Donaldson down the Tennessee, and up the Ohio and Cumberland, to The Bluff. That expedition proved successful, though the party suffered some heavy misfortunes on the way. We are now to relate another undertaking of the same kind, which ended not only in failure, but in the death or captivity of every person engaged in it. Colonel James Brown was an officer in the North Carolina line of the Continental Army. After the close of the war, he resolved to settle in Middle Tennessee, where he owned valuable lands, granted to him by the State for his military services.

Colonel Brown assembled his party on the Holston, and there made all due preparations to descend the stream. He built a large boat,

the sides of which were fenced up with thick plank, to protect those in it from rifle or musket-balls, if they should be fired at by Indians. In the stern, or hind part of the boat, was placed a small cannon. Colonel Brown's family consisted of himself, his wife, two grown sons, and three younger ones, four small daughters, and several negroes. In addition to these, he took along also five young men—J. Bays, John Flood, John Gentry, William Gentry, and John Griffin. This whole party embarked, and commenced their voyage down Holston, in May, 1788.

They proceeded without any accident till they arrived at the Chickamauga towns, where several of the Cherokees came on board, and appeared to be very friendly. But as soon as they returned to land, they sent runners to give notice to the warriors in the towns below that a boat was on the river, and that they should collect all the canoes they could to meet and attack the party. The river at this time was high, and the back-water was in the bottoms. Brown's boat had not proceeded many miles, before it was met by four canoes, containing about forty Indian warriors. They hoisted a white flag as a token of peace, and pretended

that they only wanted to trade with the white men. Though suspicious of their bad designs, Colonel Brown stopped his boat, and suffered them to come on board.

These Indians were no sooner in the boat, than they began to make very free with whatever it contained; and while they were employed in rudely rummaging among the goods, seven or eight other canoes were seen suddenly coming out from the back-water amongst the cane. The boat was in a moment surrounded by them, and the whites were at the mercy of the treacherous and bloody savages. Colonel Brown was the first victim, whose head was nearly cut in two with a sword, and his body thrown overboard. Every man of the party was soon butchered, including, of course, Colonel Brown's two grown sons. As the Indians had every thing in their power, they preferred not to kill the women and children, but to make them captives and slaves.

Amongst the band of Indians that committed this outrage, were some Creek warriors, who took Mrs. Brown, her son ten years old, and three little daughters, in their share of the spoils. Two of the daughters were brought back by the Cherokees, and remained among

them, while the mother, her son George, and the other daughter continued to be the prisoners and slaves of the Creeks, whose towns were on the Tallapoosa River. Another son, Joseph, belonged to a Cherokee warrior. Mrs. Brown and the daughter with her were purchased by McGillevray, the head-chief of the Creeks, and restored to her friends about a year afterward. The chief generously refused all compensation for this act of humanity. George Brown remained in captivity about five years, but was then released, and restored to his friends.

The unprovoked and atrocious slaughter of Colonel Brown's party, with the many other similar outrages, from time to time committed by the lawless savages of The Narrows, at length aroused General Sevier and his ever-ready volunteers to attack them in their homes and strongholds. "Nolichucky Jack," as Sevier was familiarly called by his men, soon brought these Cherokees into a humor to seek peace upon the best terms they could get. Among other things, it was required of the Indians to surrender all the white prisoners in their hands; and upon this occasion, Joseph Brown and his two sisters regained their liberty.

With this chapter will end the separate his-

tory of the Cumberland colony. The short interval of time between the present date and February, 1790, when North Carolina ceded all her western territory to the United States, furnishes no incidents beyond the usual items of savage warfare. There have passed ten years since James Robertson and his companions planted themselves at the French Salt Lick, and twice that time since Bean set up his household gods upon the banks of the Watauga. We have traced the progress of the two settlements, until a safe and easy communication has been established between them. Henceforth we are to consider them as blended into one community, and to pursue their farther history under the name of the "Territory South-west of the River Ohio."

BOOK III.

UNITED STATES TERRITORY
AND
STATE OF TENNESSEE.

OLD TIMES; OR, TENNESSEE HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

HOW THE TERRITORY WAS GOVERNED.

THE "Articles of Confederation," which held the States together during, and for some years after, the Revolutionary War, had been laid aside, and the present "Constitution of the United States" adopted, and was about to go into operation. According to that constitution, the Territory was to be regulated and managed by the Federal Government—that is, by the President and Congress. General Washington was then President, and it became his duty to appoint a governor and two judges for the Territory. The appointment of governor was be-

stowed upon William Blount, of North Carolina, and David Campbell and Joseph Anderson were made judges.

Mr. Blount was a gentleman of wealth and education, had been a delegate from North Carolina to the convention that framed the Constitution of the United States, and acted as commissioner from that State among the Indian tribes. He received his commission as Governor of the Territory in August, 1790, and in October arrived in the neighborhood of Watauga to enter upon the duties of his office. One of these duties was to appoint the civil and military officers of the Territory. In most cases, he appointed the same men who had held the several offices under the Government of North Carolina, only giving them a new commission, under the authority of the United States.

Governor Blount, having appointed the officers of Washington District, which included all the counties in East Tennessee, proceeded to Nashville, to arrange the affairs of Mero District, composed of the three counties on the Cumberland—Davidson, Sumner, and Tennessee. Not having authority himself to appoint brigadier-generals, he recommended to the President to give these offices respectively to

John Sevier for Washington, and James Robertson for Mero, and they were commissioned accordingly. Having thus set the Territorial Government in motion, Governor Blount fixed his official residence at Knoxville, on the Holston, which soon became the most important place in East Tennessee, though at that time only the site of a few cabins and rough clearings. It took its name from General Henry Knox, then Secretary of War under President Washington.

In addition to his other powers and duties, Governor Blount was also the agent of the United States among the Southern Indians, namely, the Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws. In this department he acted under the direction of the Secretary of War, who seems not to have understood so well how to manage the savages as Sevier or Robertson did. His instructions to Governor Blount required that officer, and the people of the settlements, to act only on the defensive toward the hostile Indians. An army was not, upon any account, to be marched into the Indian country. The Secretary was doubtless a man of excellent sense, and a good military officer, but neither he, nor even General Washington, had ever

had any experience of Indian warfare, in a country covered with canebrakes, where a hundred warriors could lie concealed for weeks within a hundred yards of a station.

The business of regulating the intercourse between the white and the red men, Governor Blount found to be exceedingly troublesome. Being bound to carry out the instructions of the Secretary of War, he was compelled to witness much suffering, and to hear loud complaint among the people under his charge. In Mero District the population was now about seven thousand, furnishing one thousand fighting men; and in Washington there were perhaps four times as many. The two brigadiers—Sevier and Robertson—felt themselves able to beat any force the Indians could array against them, whenever they could bring them to a battle. But this the savages would generally avoid, and preferred to hide in small parties about the settlements, robbing and murdering at every safe opportunity.

When depredations were committed, pursuit would immediately be made, but with very little prospect of finding the offenders, who could easily disperse and hide in the cane, or make their way across the Indian line, where

the troops were not permitted to follow them. In such a state of things, it is not strange if the fiery spirit of the western soldiers sometimes broke out into acts of impatience, which defied control. The authority of the Federal Government, and the proclamations of Governor Blount, were alike disregarded, in some instances, when the law of self-preservation and the instinct of vengeance were too powerful for the law of the land. At length the Federal authorities themselves became convinced that they had mistaken the true policy to be pursued toward the Indian enemies of the Territory, and the western people were again permitted to defend themselves by carrying war into the Indian country.

President Washington was then earnestly engaged in endeavoring to make a treaty with Spain, which might secure for us the free navigation of the Mississippi, and put a stop to the evil influence which the Spanish authorities in America were exercising over the Southern Indians to our prejudice. On the other hand, the Spanish Government was aiming to convince the people west of the Alleghanies, that the only means of obtaining peace with the Indians, and a foreign market for their produce, was to sepa-

rate from the Atlantic States, and to attach themselves to Louisiana. Washington was desirous to preserve peace with Spain, and all other foreign nations, until our country should grow into a degree of strength that would enable us, if necessary, to assert our rights by force of arms. His policy was no doubt patriotic as it was prudent, but it did sometimes happen that, under the sting of present grievances, the murmurs of the western pioneers were heard even against the "Father of his country."

CHAPTER II.

INDIAN AFFAIRS.

AFTER the present Constitution of the United States had been adopted, the President and the Senate could alone make treaties with the Indian tribes. Before that time, some had been made under the authority of North Carolina, some by the State of Franklin, and others by individuals, as has been before mentioned. None but those made by North Carolina were of any force, but yet many of the inhabitants of the South-west Territory were actually living on lands acquired by these unauthorized treaties. For the sake of peace with the Indians, who were often complaining of these encroachments, the President issued his proclamation, warning all persons to remove from the lands which the Indians had not surrendered by some lawful treaty.

As the Indians paid no attention to their own agreements, but made war upon those outside

as well as within the lines claimed by them, the settlers thought proper to treat the President's proclamation with very little regard. Indeed, it may be presumed that nothing more was intended by the Government of the United States than to conciliate the Indians, by appearing to be very anxious to treat them with justice—at least, no force was ever employed to remove the settlers, and they did not leave. They and the Government knew very well that Indian hostilities would be the same, with or without the observance of treaties on the part of the whites. Nothing but their dread of the white man's rifle could be relied on to insure their peaceful behavior.

But still, where there had been no sort of treaty, by which the Indians ceded their territory, nor any actual settlements made, the policy of the Government to keep all intruders off the Indian lands was duly enforced. The State of Georgia then owned the territory which is now the State of Alabama, but the Cherokees had never agreed to give it up to the whites—in other words, the Indian title had not been extinguished. About this time, the Legislature of that State granted to a private company a large tract bordering on the Muscle Shoals of

the Tennessee. The company attempted to settle their grant, but were ordered off by Governor Blount, as the agent of the General Government, and the Cherokees were told at the same time that they might drive them away, without giving offense to the United States.

In the hope of putting some restraint upon the Cherokees, who were constantly committing outrages upon the frontier, Governor Blount thought it expedient to invite the chiefs and warriors to meet him in a conference, or *talk*, to be held on the ground where Knoxville now stands, in June, 1791. Accordingly forty-one chiefs, and about a thousand other Cherokees, attended at the time and place appointed, where they found Governor Blount, surrounded by the principal civil and military officers of the Territory. The Governor made his proposals, and the Indian orators their speeches, and a treaty was formed, fixing the boundary line of the Indian hunting-grounds, and many other matters. As in all other cases, the treaty was first violated by the Cherokees, and then nullified by the whites.

At this time the Government of the United States had determined to send an army, under General St. Clair, to chastise the Indians of the

North-west. In order to raise a sufficient force, Washington District was called upon to furnish three hundred and thirty-two men. For the first, and so far, for the last time, Tennesseans refused to volunteer. The term of service was longer than they had been used to, and besides, they were to be commanded by officers not of their own choosing, which had never happened before. Another reason may be that they were just then a good deal dissatisfied with the Federal Government, for what they regarded as its neglect to promote the interests of the western people. A draft, or forced enlistment, was resorted to, and at length two hundred men, by the great exertions of Governor Blount and General Sevier, were sent forward in time to share the disastrous defeat of General St. Clair, on the 4th of November, 1791.

A singular incident occurred as the troops were about leaving upon this expedition. One of the captains—Jacob Tipton—had taken leave of his family, and mounted his horse. He then halted and called out his wife to tell her that, if he should be killed, she must change the name of their son William, and call him Jacob. He seemed to have a presentiment that he should fall, as he did, in the battle that en-

sued. The name of his son was changed agreeably to his request, and he afterward became General Jacob Tipton, of Tipton county, in West Tennessee. The county was so named in honor of his father, the brave and patriotic captain.

At the very time the treaty with the Cherokees was being held at Knoxville, the usual Indian robberies and murders were going forward. A Mr. Miller and five of his family were killed, and his house robbed, on the Rolling Fork of the Cumberland. On the frontier of Virginia, Mrs. McDowell and Frances Pendleton were murdered and scalped. Shortly after the treaty, James Patrick was killed near Rogersville. Whether these depredations were committed by Creeks or Cherokees is uncertain; but any way, these and many similar instances plainly show that treaties had no binding force with the Indians, and brought no assurance of safety to the white settlements. For some reasons, it was perhaps well enough to go through the ceremony of holding councils with them, but then it was proper to keep as sharp a lookout as if nothing of the kind had been transacted.

CHAPTER III.

INDIAN MURDERS AND ROBBERIES.

THERE was perhaps no time, in the history of the Tennessee settlements, in which the hostility of the savages was more constant, determined, and bloody, than during the year succeeding the council at Knoxville, spoken of in the last chapter. The Cherokees and Creeks had, by this time, found out that the white men were not allowed by the Government to pursue them into their own country, or to attack their towns. This they regarded as a license to their marauding parties to do all the mischief they could in the settlements, if they could only cross the line before the pursuers should overtake them. In regard to their relations with the Indians, the inhabitants of Washington and Mero were in a worse condition than the early settlers at Watauga and The Bluff; for North Carolina, if she did nothing for their protection, at least allowed them to protect themselves.

Governor Blount and Generals Sevier and Robertson did all they could, under the circumstances. Troops were kept at the stations in the more exposed neighborhoods, and patrols, or rangers, were in motion along the frontier. Still this did not prevent small bands of the enemy from stealing into the settlements and committing an immense amount of slaughter and devastation. We shall select a few cases, leaving the great mass of suffering to be imagined by our readers. On the 26th of June, the Indians attacked Zeigler's Station, near Bledsoe's Lick, killed four men, and made eighteen prisoners. Nine of these captives were afterward redeemed by their friends. The remainder, as also a young woman and four negroes from the neighborhood, were carried off to the Indian towns. On the 15th of July, Pennington and Milligen were killed on the road to Kentucky.

About the same time, Mr. Gillespie and a boy were murdered, and another boy carried into captivity. One of the most remarkable affairs, belonging to the Indian hostilities of this period, was an attack made by about seven hundred Creeks and Cherokees upon Buchanan's Station, four miles south of Nashville. At

the time of the attack, the station contained a goodly number of women and children, but only fifteen fighting men. The Indians fired a great many balls into the block-house, and attempted to set fire to the buildings. The white men inside made the best possible use of their rifles, and after a long and obstinate fight, the Indians retired with the loss of several of their foremost warriors. Not a man, woman, or child in the fort was hurt, though the Indians killed Gee and Clayton outside.

It was in the next year (1792) that Captain Handly, with forty-two men, was going from Washington District to assist in the defense of the Cumberland people. On his way, he was met and attacked by fifty-six Indians, some of them Shawnees. Except Captain Handly and one of his men, named Leiper, the white men instantly fell back out of farther danger. Leiper was wounded, and had fallen from his horse. Handly attempted to get him again on his horse, but while doing so, was surrounded and furiously assaulted by several Indians. To save his own life, he surrendered to one of them, crying out, "Canawlla!" which, in the Indian language, means friendship, or peace. Poor Leiper was killed and scalped, while

Handly was taken to the Cherokee towns, and, after a long and hard captivity, was restored to his family and friends.

It was not in human nature, especially the nature of western men, to endure these multiplied wrongs and sufferings, without some impatient outbreak. When they saw the bleeding bodies of wives and children, lying in all the horror of ghastly murder, upon their own hearth-stones, men were not in a frame of mind to study the laws of the land, or to observe the niceties of governmental policy. On the 25th of May, Thomas Gillam and his son were killed and scalped by the Indians, in the Raccoon Valley. Captain Beard and fifty mounted men immediately pursued the murderers, and forgot to stop at the Indian line. They killed fifteen or twenty savages of the Hanging Maw's tribe, and in the scuffle the wife of that chief also lost her life. Beard and his party were never punished for this violation of law, and, indeed, could not have been punished, in such a state of feeling as then existed among the people of the Territory.

On the 30th of August, two Indians came to Mr. Hutter's, tomahawked and scalped his wife, cut off his daughter's head, and plundered

the house. Immediately Colonel Doherty and Colonel McFarland raised one hundred and eighty men for an expedition into the Cherokee country. They were out four weeks, in which time they destroyed six Indian towns, and killed and *scalped* fifteen warriors, at the same time making prisoners of a good many squaws and children. The scalping, in this affair, proves that the white men must have been unusually exasperated. Those engaged in this attack had to undergo the censures of Governor Blount for a violation of law, and a disregard of the President's proclamation, but the matter went no farther.

Andrew Creswell, with two other men, was living near McGaughey's Station. A party of Cherokees coming into the neighborhood, shot and wounded a man named Cunningham, who made his escape to Creswell's house. Among the men the question was debated whether it would be better to remain, or attempt to reach the station. Creswell put the question to his wife, who replied that she preferred to die at home. "Then," said Creswell, "I will keep this house till the Indians take me out of it." The building was well constructed for defense, and to prevent his horses being stolen, the

stable was so arranged that the door could not be opened but by a person inside of the house. Seeing the place so well prepared for defense, and so resolutely guarded, the Indians thought best to let it alone.

CHAPTER IV.

ATTEMPT AGAINST KNOXVILLE—MASSACRE AT
CAVET'S STATION—ETOWAH EXPEDITION.

ON the 24th of September, 1793, the militia patrols were out all day, in the vicinity of Knoxville, without being able to detect any signs of approaching Indians. But in the evening of that very day, a thousand warriors crossed the Tennessee, below the mouth of the Holston, and were in full march for Knoxville. This body, consisting of seven hundred Creeks and three hundred Cherokees, was commanded by two noted chiefs—John Watts and Double-head. One hundred of the Creeks were mounted. They had selected Knoxville as the object of attack, on account of the public stores collected there, of which they hoped to possess themselves by this sudden invasion. By reason of some difficulties in crossing the river, and a want of agreement and concert among the leaders, the Indian army failed to

reach Knoxville that night, as had been expected by them. Not being able to surprise the place by a night-attack, they abandoned the enterprise entirely.

But so large a force of chiefs and braves could not think of returning to their towns without plunder and scalps. Cavet's Station was near at hand, in which were only three fighting men and a family of thirteen persons. A thousand ferocious and yelling savages soon surrounded the devoted place. What could three men do against such a host? What they did do, was to discharge their guns at the advancing Indians, killing three warriors, and wounding three others. Though so greatly superior in numbers, the Indians concluded that they would probably lose several more men in storming the block-house, and proposed to the men in the station to surrender. They sent in a half-breed Creek, who could speak English, and who promised that the lives of all should be spared if the station were given up.

The offer was accepted, and the Indians took possession of the place and the prisoners. They kept their word to save the lives of the party by instantly putting to death, in the most horrid and barbarous manner, every individual be-

longing to it—male and female, old and young—with one exception. A lad, the son of Mr. Cavet, escaped immediate death by the influence of John Watts, but was afterward killed in the Indian country. The body of Mr. Cavet was found next day in the garden, with seven bullets in his mouth, which he had put there to load his rifle with. The savages plundered and burned all the buildings, and then started for their towns to hold a scalp-dance, and to brag of their exploits.

The policy of the Federal Government was made to yield to the spirit of indignant vengeance which was now aroused. In the absence of Governor Blount, Mr. Smith, the Secretary of the Territory, authorized General Sevier to invade the Cherokees and Creeks. The voice of "Nolichucky Jack," calling his countrymen to arms, never failed to meet a hearty and enthusiastic response, and in a few days he was at the head of six hundred mounted riflemen, and fiercely pursuing the trail of the retreating murderers. In this determined band there were some who were, at all times and habitually, Indian-haters; but, on the present occasion, these men scarcely went beyond the rest in their eagerness to overtake and to punish

the treacherous and truculent butchers of the Cavet family.

The pursuers followed the trail across Little Tennessee and Hiwassee, to the Indian town of Estinaula. The Indians had deserted the town, but left in it plentiful supplies of grain and meat. What the troops could not consume was destroyed, together with the town itself. Sevier and his men encamped that night upon the bank of Estinaula River, with the woods around them full of Indians. Next day they moved forward toward the Indian town of Etowah, upon the Coosa River. The warriors at Etowah were known to have been under John Watts, and to have taken part in the massacre at Cavet's. How many they were was matter of indifference to Sevier's men, their only solicitude being to get within rifle distance of the miscreants.

Partly by an accident, the approach and attack were made in such a manner that the Indian warriors could not get away, but were hemmed in between the assailants and the river-bank. The troops dismounted, and poured in a deadly fire upon them. The Indians fought bravely for awhile, under the encouragement and example of their leader, called King-fisher.

Hugh L. White and two others, standing near each other, leveled their rifles at him, and he fell. Upon the death of the chief, the surviving Indians broke, and fled in all directions, and left the whites masters of the field and of the town.

Three white men lost their lives in this engagement—Pruett, Weir, and Wallace. The town of Etowah was burned, and several others were destroyed on the return-march of the troops. This was the last act of General Sevier's military career, as he shortly after went into the civil service of the country. For more than twenty years he had been the favorite leader of the western volunteers in all their wars with the Indians, British, and Tories. He had been in thirty-five battles, was never defeated, and never wounded. In all his Indian campaigns, he had only lost fifty-six men, and this last expedition was the only one for which he ever received a dollar of pay.

CHAPTER V.

RENEWAL OF INDIAN TROUBLES.

THE chastisement inflicted upon the Creeks and Cherokees, as narrated in the last chapter, had the usual effect of quelling their spirit and checking their inroads for a season only. It would be necessary that the lesson should be repeated, in order to make a permanent impression. While Sevier and the volunteers were away in the expedition to Etowah, the Indians killed a boy and a woman near Dandridge. They were stuck in the throat like hogs, their heads entirely skinned, and their bodies left naked. As the neighbors were carrying the bodies to a burying-ground, two men happened to go a little ahead of the rest, and were fired upon by about fifty Indians. One of them escaped, though wounded, and the other being found dead and scalped, was buried in the same grave with the two corpses he had been attending.

So great was the relief from Indian invasion experienced by the inhabitants of Mero District for some time after Sevier's trip to Etowah, that they sent him their thanks, and a request that he would soon pay another visit to the Indian towns. It was not long before the behavior of the Indians showed very plainly that they were much in need of another castigation. In April, 1794, they attacked a company of travelers, near the Crab Orchard. In this attack, Thomas Sharpe Spencer, the celebrated pioneer hunter, was killed, and, from that circumstance, the place, on the great eastern road from Nashville, is called Spencer's Hill to this day.

Dr. Cozby was an old Indian fighter, and it was hard for them to catch him napping. On a moonlight night, a large party of them approached his cabin, in which were only himself, his wife, and several children, of which one boy was old enough to use a gun. The Doctor, always upon the watch, saw them before they were near the house, barricaded the door, and began to give orders in a loud voice, as if he had a houseful of armed men. The Indians were deceived, and sneaked away, in search of better fortune elsewhere. This they

found at the house of William Casteel, living about two miles from Cozby's.

Casteel and a neighbor, named Reagan, had agreed to have a hunt the next day. Reagan came to Casteel's early in the morning, where he found the whole family dead—butchered in the most horrid and revolting manner. The family consisted of Casteel himself, his wife, and five children—the oldest a daughter of ten years. We have said they were all dead, and so indeed they seemed to the visitor. When the neighbors were preparing them for burial, Elizabeth, the oldest daughter, showed some signs of life, though wounded in six places with a tomahawk, besides being scalped. She slowly revived, and in two years was well again, was married, and lived long after. The rest of the family are all in one grave, under an oak-tree, still standing.

The excitement produced by this massacre was scarcely less than that which followed the murder of the Cavets. The people were clamorous for an immediate and exterminating invasion of the Indian towns, and it required all the influence and exertions of the civil officers to restrain them from a march across the border, in defiance of the law. About the same

time, John Ish was killed, while plowing in his field, eighteen miles from Knoxville. This was done by some Creeks, and the Cherokees caught and delivered up one of the murderers to a party of white men that went in pursuit. He was regularly tried by a court and jury for the crime of murder, and found guilty. His name was Obongpohego, which means, in English, "dance upon nothing." This exploit he was soon required to perform, for the satisfaction of the people, who greatly enjoyed the spectacle.

We have before noticed the defeat of the army under General St. Clair, by the Northern Indians, in 1791. The Government of the United States afterward sent General Wayne, with another army, against the same tribes. This effort was more successful, and Wayne inflicted upon the Indians an overwhelming and ruinous defeat. News of this disaster to their northern brothers had reached the Cherokees, and they at once became, or pretended to be, inclined to peace. Governor Blount agreed to hold a council with their chiefs at Tellico. It was easily agreed that, in time to come, there should be peace and friendship between the Cherokees and the inhabitants of the South-west Territory, and that all prisoners and property taken

during the war, should be restored by both parties.

But in despite of treaties and pretensions of friendship, the work of massacre and devastation went on. Not a week, and scarcely a day passed, without some cabin laid in ashes, and some family bereaved, or destroyed. It had long been seen by some, and was now evident to the experience of all, that defensive measures alone would never secure the people of the Territory against Indian aggression. General Robertson was a cool and considerate officer, and every way disposed to respect the laws of the land, and to obey the orders of his official superiors; but he was, at the same time, generous and sympathizing, and could no longer suffer the punctilios of official propriety to prevent the relief demanded by the united cries of his distressed countrymen. He assumed the responsibility of doing what shall be related in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

EXPEDITION TO NICKOJACK.

IN the fourteenth chapter of the second Book is given some account of an unfortunate attempt made by a party, under the direction of Colonel Brown, to get to Nashville by way of the Tennessee River. Our readers will also remember that one of Colonel Brown's sons—Joseph—had been detained as a captive among the lower Cherokees, for a year or more. He was seventeen years old when he returned to the white settlements, and was now about twenty-two. He had not forgotten the cruelties inflicted by the savages on his father's family, nor the sufferings of his own hard captivity. Indeed, the Indians would not suffer him thus to forget, for a lurking party of them had lately shot and wounded him in the shoulder, by which he was still partially disabled.

As has been before stated, the Chickamaugas and their confederates, who held the towns

about The Narrows of the Tennessee, had been the most destructive enemies of the white settlements, both in East and Middle Tennessee. It was doubted whether an army could be marched across the spur of the Cumberland Mountain at The Narrows, so as effectually to invade the towns. Joseph Brown and several others undertook an exploration for the purpose of settling this point. They made the tour, and reported to General Robertson that it was quite practicable for horsemen to get over the mountain, and, by leaving the horses on this side, to cross the river opposite to Nickojack.

General Robertson at once resolved to strike a blow in that direction, and issued the necessary orders to his subordinates. The troops of Mero District were soon assembled, under Colonels Ford and Montgomery, and rendezvoused at a block-house near Buchanan's Station. Here they were shortly joined by a body of volunteers from Kentucky, commanded by Colonel Whitley. Colonel Orr, also, who had been sent by Governor Blount with a body of troops to assist in the defense of the Cumberland settlements, was persuaded to join the expedition. As he was the only officer acting under the authority of the Governor, he took

command of the entire army, and the movement was generally known as Orr's expedition, though in truth the actual direction of affairs was committed to Colonel Whitley.

All things being in readiness, the army, amounting to more than five hundred mounted riflemen, set out on Sunday, 7th of September, 1794. Under the guidance of Joseph Brown, they took the direct course to Nickojack, passing near the head of Elk. It was night when they reached the Tennessee, where they camped, though some of the men swam the river before daylight. In the morning, after leaving a large guard with the horses on this side, the remainder of the troops crossed to the southern bank, some on rafts made of dry cane, and others by swimming. Among the swimmers were William Trousdale, since Governor of the State, and Joseph Brown, who could only use one arm in the operation.

An exploit of William and Gideon Pillow, upon this occasion, deserves to be mentioned. As they were excellent swimmers, they were selected to take over a raft carrying the guns, powder, and clothes of their company, so as to keep them dry. A rope tied to the raft was held by William in his teeth, that his arms

might be free for swimming. In this way he pulled the raft after him, while Gideon and another man swam behind and pushed it. How Andrew Jackson passed the river is not known, but he was there, and probably this was his first experience in that military career in which he afterward became so distinguished. He was then a young lawyer, and had lately emigrated from North Carolina.

The troops were safely landed on the southern bank, and, with their equipments all in good order, stood ready for the work they had come to do. The Indians had not the least notice of the attack, until the keen report of the rifles was heard in the very heart of the town. Being completely surprised, the warriors were equally unready to fight and unable to escape. Many of them—warriors, squaws, and children together—attempted to get off in their canoes, but were mostly killed before they could put out into the stream. A few saved themselves by lying close in the bottoms of the canoes, while they were carried down by the rapid current.

Running-water town, about a mile distant from Nickojack, shared the same fate. They were both destroyed, with every thing valuable

which the Indians had collected there, much of it plunder which for years they had been carrying off from the white settlements. About seventy warriors are known to have perished, and eighteen women and children were made prisoners. As the men were taking these latter down the river to the crossing-place, one of the squaws slyly got rid of her clothes, jumped out of the canoe, and swam rapidly away. She might have been easily killed in the water, but as the men could not bring themselves to shoot a woman, she was allowed to escape. The only damage suffered by the invaders was three men slightly wounded.

On the same day, the troops returned to the north bank of the river, and rejoined their comrades, who had been left to take care of the horses. By the same route they had pursued in their outward march, they returned to Nashville, where the volunteers were disbanded. Colonel Orr went immediately to Knoxville, and reported to Governor Blount the events of the expedition, undertaken contrary to the Governor's public orders. In a few days, this was followed by a letter of explanation or apology from General Robertson, and the whole affair was allowed to pass without farther

question. The great advantages which were expected to result from the expedition made every one inclined to overlook any irregularity in the procedure.

And this expectation was not disappointed. Indian murders and robberies did not absolutely cease, but they became much less frequent and general. At Nickojack the savages had been taught a severe but wholesome lesson. Thenceforth they seem to have been convinced that they could never succeed in preventing the occupation and settlement of the country by white men. Even horse-stealing, and other similar depredations, were practiced with less boldness, when they had discovered that their strongholds at The Narrows could not protect them against the avenging visitations of western volunteers. It was not till the war between Great Britain and the United States, in 1812, that they were roused to a last, expiring effort to drive back the tide of civilization, which was fast covering their favorite hunting-grounds with farms and villages.

CHAPTER VII.

CIVIL REGULATIONS OF THE TERRITORY.

UNDER this head, as well as any other, it may be mentioned that the first newspaper published in what is now the State of Tennessee, was issued on the 5th of November, 1791. It was called the "Knoxville Gazette," of which George Roulstone was printer, proprietor, and editor. The earlier numbers were printed at Rogersville, in Hawkins county; but the publication was soon transferred to Knoxville, as was contemplated from the first. About this time Knoxville had become the territorial capital, and a good many buildings went up in the course of the year 1792. Mr. White, the owner of the land, laid off the town in the most liberal spirit, allowing a suitable lot for a church, an entire square as the site for a college, another for a court-house, jail, etc.

The county of Hawkins was now divided, and Knox county organized, of which Knoxville was the county seat. In the next year,

(1792,) Jefferson county was taken from Greene and Hawkins. The first county court was held in Knox on the 16th of June, 1792. An ordinance was passed by the Governor and Judges, authorizing the county courts of the Territory to levy a tax for county purposes, such as building court-houses and jails, paying jurors, etc. The poll-tax was not to be more than fifty cents, nor the land-tax more than seventeen cents on a hundred acres.

According to the ordinance of Congress for the government of the Territory, the Governor and Judges were to regulate its affairs until the population should amount to five thousand men qualified to vote. The people were then entitled to have a Territorial Government, consisting of the Governor, a Legislative Council, and a House of Representatives. Governor Blount being satisfied that the Territory then contained the requisite number of votes, issued a proclamation calling upon the people to vote for members of the House of Representatives, on the third Friday and Saturday in December, 1793. Washington, Hawkins, Jefferson, and Knox were to have each two representatives; Sullivan, Greene, Tennessee, Davidson, and Sumner, each one representative.

The election having been held, the Governor appointed the fourth Monday of February, 1794, as the day of their first meeting, at Knoxville. They assembled accordingly, and chose David Wilson for Speaker, and Hopkins Lacy, Clerk. On the second day, and before entering upon any business, the members, with the Governor and Speaker at their head, marched in a body to the church, where religious services were performed by the Rev. Mr. Carrick. Upon returning to their room, the first business done was to select ten persons, of whom Congress was to appoint five, as members of the Legislative Council. They also prepared and adopted an address to the Governor, and a memorial to Congress, setting forth the condition of the Territory, and asking that more effectual measures should be employed by the Federal Government, to protect the inhabitants against Indian aggressions.

As no law could be passed without the Council, the representatives then returned to their homes, to assemble again on the 25th of August, 1794, agreeably to the Governor's appointment. In the meantime, the members of the Council had been commissioned by the President. They were Griffith Rutherford, John Sevier, James

Winchester, Stokeley Donelson, and Parmenas Taylor. At the appointed time, both the Council and the House of Representatives were duly organized, and duly notified each other, and also the Governor, that they were ready to proceed to business. A committee was appointed by each of these bodies, to consult together, and adopt proper rules for regulating the intercourse between them.

From the "Rules of Decorum," adopted by the House for the government of its own members, we can perceive that their behavior was not permitted to be quite so "free and easy" as legislators have come to indulge in since that time. One of these rules was that, "Upon adjournment, no member shall presume to move until the Speaker arises and goes before." Indeed, much greater ceremony was used in those days, upon all serious occasions, than is now fashionable. Governors, judges, legislators, and even justices of the peace, in the times immediately succeeding the Revolution, were regarded as in some measure representing the dignity of the State, and treated with a respectful awe to which the present generation are entire strangers.

Some opinion may be formed of the industry

and earnestness with which public business was transacted in those primitive times, when we learn that it was usual for the House to be in session as early as seven o'clock in the morning, in the month of September. While they were working at this rate, each member was receiving two dollars and fifty cents per day for his legislative services, and that for a session of little more than one month. For want of accommodation in Knoxville, many members boarded several miles out, and walked to town every morning. As an evidence of the state of the country at this time, it may be mentioned that the two members from Knox county obtained leave of absence from the House for a week, that they might assist in driving off a band of marauding Cherokees that were doing mischief in the settlements.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE.

BOTH the Council and the House being now fully organized, and the mode of doing business being agreed upon, they at once took into consideration the condition of the Territory, and proceeded to enact such laws as the public interests seemed to them to demand. To men who had partaken of all the hardships and privations of the inhabitants from the commencement of the settlements, there could be little difficulty in ascertaining what were the most pressing needs of the community to be relieved by legislation. The members, being almost entirely of this sort of persons, had little occasion to inquire what ought to be done, though their want of experience in such matters might produce some embarrassment as to the mode of doing it.

Among the first acts of the session was one,

introduced by General Sevier, providing for the relief of persons who had been disabled in the Indian wars, and of the families of such as had been killed. By other acts, two colleges were chartered: Greeneville College, in Greene county, and Blount College, at Knoxville. The latter institution has since taken the name of East Tennessee University. A memorial was prepared, to be presented to Congress, in regard to the condition of the settlers south of French Broad River. It has been before explained that this part of the Territory had been settled, under a treaty made with the Cherokees, by the State of Franklin. As this turned out to be no authority in law, those who had settled and improved lands there, were now liable to be dispossessed by Congress.

The ordinance establishing a government for the Territory, had provided that the Council and the House of Representatives, by a joint vote, should elect a Delegate to the Congress of the United States. This duty was performed, and the choice fell upon James White, of Knoxville. The Delegate was instructed earnestly to represent to Congress the sufferings of the people from Indian hostilities, and to ask, in the most pressing manner, that the protection

of the Federal Government might be extended to them. In this representation it was to be insisted that the defensive policy of the Government would continue to fail, as it had already failed, to obtain any adequate security against Indian aggressions. A list of the names of persons, killed by the savages in the six months preceding, was furnished the Delegate, to be laid before the President. They amount to more than a hundred.

The Council and the House readily agreed upon all subjects, except the single one of taxes to be levied. As this proved to be, for some years, a subject of considerable interest and excitement among the people of the Territory, and afterward of the State, it deserves a few words of explanation. At this time, large bodies of the best land in Tennessee were owned by men who did not live here, but in the old States. In many instances, the old soldiers, to whom North Carolina had granted lands in the West, were forced by their poverty to sell their claims to wealthy speculators, who would expect to make a great profit by a rise in the price of the lands. This increase in the value of the lands would depend upon the settlement of the country, and the settlement, of course, must be

made by those who were, in making it, to be exposed to all the hardships and dangers of frontier life, while many of the land-owners were living in ease and safety elsewhere.

In fixing the taxes for the support of the Territorial Government, the House of Representatives, coming immediately from the people, were inclined to lay a heavier tax on land, and a lighter one on polls, or persons. They insisted on a tax of twenty-five cents per hundred acres, while the Council proposed only eighteen. As the consent of both branches was necessary to pass a law, this difference between them produced a *dead-lock* in the Legislature for several days; but at length the Council gave way, and the tax was settled according to the views of the Representatives. From a similar feeling, no doubt, a proposition to exempt workmen at iron foundries from military duty, was successfully opposed by the House.

The people of the Territory, from the time of its transfer to the Federal Government, had been looking to a separate State organization in a few years. On this account, much less was done or attempted by the Territorial Legislature than would otherwise have been requisite and proper. The ordinance of Congress au-

thorized the formation of a State whenever it was ascertained that the population of the Territory had increased to sixty thousand white inhabitants. After a session of thirty-seven days, both Houses were prorogued by Governor Blount, to meet again, at Knoxville, on the first Monday of October, 1795. The entire expense of the session was ascertained to be two thousand six hundred and seventy-one dollars. The session of the Legislature of Tennessee, in 1859-60, cost the State more than ninety thousand dollars.

In the interval between the first and second sessions of the Legislature, there were a few instances of Indian murder, one of which was attended by circumstances so singular as to deserve particular mention. Mr. Mann, living twelve miles from Knoxville, was called out of his house at night to attend to some disturbance which he heard at his stable. He was fired upon and wounded by Indians, who pursued him to a cave not far off, where they killed and scalped him. His wife was left in the house, with several small children asleep. Peeping out, she presently saw the Indians marching up to the house, one behind another. She had that morning learned how to fire a rifle. With-

out speaking a word, she pointed the muzzle through the crack of the door, and, as the foremost Indian pressed against it, she pulled the trigger. The Indian fell dead, and the one next to him was wounded. As the room was too dark for them to see into it, and Mrs. Mann and her children maintained perfect silence, the Indians concluded that there might be several armed men in the house, and made haste to get out of the supposed danger.

CHAPTER IX.

SECOND SESSION—PREPARATION FOR THE
NEW STATE.

As we have seen, the Territorial Legislature was to meet again on the first Monday of October, 1795. However, Governor Blount thought proper to convene them by proclamation at an earlier day, namely, the 29th of June. The principal reason for this step was the general wish of the people that the necessary measures should be adopted to change the Territorial into an independent State Government as speedily as practicable. If the western settlements had been neglected by North Carolina, they were no less ill-treated, in the opinion of the inhabitants, by the restrictions, especially in regard to Indian intercourse, imposed upon them by their guardian, the Federal Government. In a word, the community felt itself to be

now of full age, and was naturally desirous to undertake the management of its own affairs.

Among the acts of this, the second and last, session of the Territorial Assembly, was one to raise "Martin Academy" to the rank of a college, with the name of Washington. By another, Knox county was divided, and Blount county formed of a part of it. The county seat was called Maryville, in compliment to the amiable wife of Governor Blount, whose Christian name was Mary, and subsequently another new county was called Grainger, which was her family name before marriage. Little time, however, was consumed in attention to minor affairs, and the Legislature hastened to provide by law for those preliminary proceedings which were to usher in the new State. The feeling in favor of the change was so general that only one member voted against the measure.

In furtherance of the desired object, the Legislature passed an act requiring a census to be taken of the inhabitants of the Territory, to ascertain whether or not it had the population required by the law of Congress. In case a population of sixty thousand should be re-

ported to the Governor, that officer was then authorized to call upon the citizens, by proclamation, to elect five men from each county, to meet in convention, and frame a constitution for the new State. The convention was to be held at Knoxville, at such time as the Governor should appoint, and its members were to receive the same pay as those of the Legislature. Having thus prepared the way for the incoming of a new organization of government, the Legislature was prorogued, *sine die*—that is, dissolved to meet no more.

In obedience to the act of the Legislature, the sheriffs of the eleven counties, then composing the Territory, proceeded to enumerate the population. From the returns made to the Governor, it appears that there were then in the Territory a total of seventy-seven thousand two hundred and sixty-three, of which there were thirty-six thousand one hundred and twenty-three white males, twenty-nine thousand five hundred and fifty-four white females, ten thousand six hundred and thirteen slaves, and nine hundred and seventy-three of all other persons.

Though not required to do so by law,

it seems that the sheriffs of all the counties, except Sumner, took and reported the vote for and against an independent State. The result was six thousand five hundred and four in favor, and two thousand five hundred and sixty-two opposed.

The requisite amount of population having been thus ascertained to exist, Governor Blount, on the 28th day of November, 1795, issued his proclamation, directing elections to be held in the several counties for members of a constitutional convention. The elections were held accordingly, and the convention commenced its session, at Knoxville, on the 11th of January, 1796. The body was organized for business by the election of Governor Blount, as President, William Maclin, Secretary, and John Sevier, Jr., Reading and Engrossing Clerk. It was resolved that the session on the second day should be opened with prayer, and also a sermon from the Rev. Mr. Carrick.

Two members from each county were appointed to make a draft of a constitution, to be afterward submitted to the whole body. The work of the committee was completed, and reported on the 27th of January. It was examined, discussed, and amended, from that

time to the 6th of February, when "the engrossed copy of the constitution was read, and passed unanimously." The President was directed to keep a copy of the constitution to be delivered to the Secretary of State, when appointed, and to forward another to the Secretary of State of the United States, at Philadelphia. The same officer was farther instructed to call upon the sheriffs, in the several counties, to hold the first election for Governor and members of the Legislature, under the Constitution of the STATE OF TENNESSEE.

Having fully accomplished their work in twenty-seven days, the convention was dissolved. The pay of the members had been fixed at two dollars and a half per day by the act of the Territorial Legislature; but no provision had been made for clerks, printing, and other incidental expenses. To meet this want, the members agreed to receive only one dollar and a half for their daily pay, and that out of the remainder those expenses should be paid, for which no provision had been made. Under this resolution, the clerks received each two dollars and a half per day, and the door-keeper two dollars. For furnishing seats for

the convention ten dollars was allowed, and two dollars and sixty-two cents for oil-cloth to cover the tables used by the President and Secretary.

CHAPTER X.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT.

As authorized and required by an ordinance of the convention, the President issued his writs, directed to the several sheriffs, to open and hold an election for Governor and members of the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee. An election was held accordingly, and by the President's appointment, the first session of the General Assembly of Tennessee was held at Knoxville, commencing on the 28th of March, 1796. James Winchester was chosen Speaker of the Senate, and James Stewart of the House, and the two bodies exchanged messages notifying each other that they were organized and ready to proceed to business.

On the same day the two Houses met in the chamber of the Representatives to examine the returns of the election for Governor. Upon counting the votes, it was duly shown that John Sevier had been chosen for that office, and the

result proclaimed by the Speaker of the Senate in presence of the two Houses. A committee was appointed to notify Governor Sevier of his election, and to request his attendance, at twelve o'clock of the next day, in the House of Representatives, to take the oaths of office. Another committee was sent to inform Governor Blount of these arrangements, and invite him to be present at the inauguration of his successor.

The next most important proceeding of the General Assembly, was the appointment of two Senators in Congress. This trust was committed to Governor William Blount and William Cocke, Esq. The election was attended with much greater ceremony than is now usually employed upon such an occasion. The joint committee of the two Houses appointed for the purpose, in notifying these gentlemen of their election, addressed both of them by the singular title of "Citizen." This form of speech was probably an imitation of the French Republicans, for whose character and principles there was then great admiration among a large portion of the American people.

Congress being in session when the Constitution of Tennessee was adopted and transmitted to the Secretary of State of the United States,

President Washington immediately, by a special message, brought the subject before that body. There was at first some show of objection in the Senate, which, however, was at length overruled, and in June an act of Congress was passed, admitting Tennessee into the Union upon the same footing as the other States. Vermont and Kentucky had been admitted before—the former in 1791, the latter in 1792. Tennessee was therefore the third new State added to the original thirteen, and making the whole number sixteen. The name, TENNESSEE, was given by the convention that framed the constitution. Before that, the name had belonged only to the great river of the country, and to a county on the Cumberland, which was subsequently divided into the two counties of Robertson and Montgomery.

Governor Sevier having assumed the duties of his office, and the various subordinate officers having been duly commissioned, the governmental machinery was at once in operation, and nothing was wanting to a complete organization. The constitution then adopted, remained in force till the year 1834, when another convention was held, and a new one made. This new constitution, with the various amendments it

has since received, differs in a good many respects from the old one of 1796. Among other matters, many officers—judges, clerks, sheriffs, etc.—who were formerly appointed by the Legislature and the circuit and county courts, are now elected by the people.

The Territorial Government had left the public treasury in a prosperous condition. The State commenced its existence out of debt, and with some money on hand. The Federal authorities had made a treaty with Spain, by which that nation had agreed that the people of the United States should enjoy the free and unmolested navigation of the Mississippi River, and thus removed a source of great irritation among the western people, and of danger to the whole Union. The neighboring Indian tribes, no longer instigated by Spanish agents, and humbled by their defeats and disasters at Etowah and Nickojack, were comparatively inoffensive, certainly not inclined to provoke farther chastisement.

But in the midst of much present prosperity, and the fair hopes of increasing success and aggrandizement, there was still left one source of disquiet to the people of Tennessee, which continued to annoy them for several years

longer. This was the uncertainty of land-titles in some sections of the State, and the difficulties with the Federal Government, arising from that cause. It has been stated before that the people living south of the French Broad, were on land that had not been ceded by the Cherokees, except to the State of Franklin, whose authority had been set aside. In addition to this, North Carolina had granted lands, (and those lands had been actually settled,) that were Indian territory, according to the treaty of Holston, made by authority of the United States.

After the adoption of the Federal Constitution, there was no authority to make treaties with the Indians, except the President and Congress of the United States. The occupants of the uncaded lands were liable, at any moment, to be removed from their homes by officers and soldiers of the United States, some of whom were stationed in the country for the purpose of keeping peace with the Indians, and taking care that the whites did not intrude upon the lands reserved to them by treaty. This state of things gave rise to much angry discussion, and loud complaints were uttered against the Government, with General Wash-

ington at its head, because they did not at once procure an extinguishment of the Indian title. This was at length accomplished, but, in the meantime, it required much prudence on the part of the Federal officers, and all the influence of Sevier and Robertson, and other discreet citizens, to prevent a hostile collision between the people and the troops of the Government.

CHAPTER XI.

EXTENT OF THE SETTLEMENTS—AGRICULTURE
AND TRADE IN 1796.

WITH the organization of the State Government, we propose that this history shall come to an end. To give even a sketch of events up to the present time would swell this little book to a size inconvenient for the purpose it is mainly intended to serve. Besides, we should have necessarily to deal more with matters of legislation and politics than would be suitable to the design of this work, or to the taste and capacity of young readers. Another reason for stopping here is, that from the time of the establishment of the State Government, the current of public affairs soon began to run in the same channel as at present, and an account of them would be less interesting to persons in general than that of the very peculiar circumstances attending the commencement and early progress of the settlement and population of the country.

So singular, indeed, were these circumstances, as to give rise for awhile to a very uncommon state of society, which perhaps has never had a parallel, except in the neighboring State of Kentucky about the same time. Our readers, we think, will not be displeased, if, before closing our work, we devote a few pages to some description of the condition of the country and people, as they were in 1796. And it may be here remarked that, as the condition of things was then, it continued, with slight and gradual changes, for many years after. It was not until steam navigation and the culture of cotton had produced an active and gainful commerce, that the old pioneer character and backwoods habits began to disappear.

At the time when the State of Tennessee was admitted into the Union, the actual settlements covered less than one-third of the area within her present limits. In East Tennessee, they extended as far west as the Little Tennessee, on the south of the Holston; on the north side of that river, a little west of Knoxville. The Middle Tennessee, or Cumberland colony, had spread over the surface included in the present counties of Davidson, Cheatham, Montgomery, Robertson, Sumner, Wilson, and Williamson,

and in these there were wide intervals without a cabin or a clearing. West Tennessee was an unbroken wilderness, unless we might except a trading post at the Chickasaw Bluffs, on the Mississippi.

In the older portions of the settlements, sufficient land had now been cleared to enable the occupants to raise plentiful crops of Indian corn, not only for their own use, but also to supply the large number of emigrants continually coming into the country. Tobacco was cultivated to some extent, and little patches of cotton for domestic use. But wheat and other small grain were scarcely ever seen; indeed, the land generally was too rich for this kind of crops, even if there had been enough of it cleared to allow a part to be employed in that way.

The trade of the country was very nearly none at all. Emigrants from the old States would consume a portion of the surplus corn and meat; but they were seldom able to pay for these articles in money. The usual mode with them was to obtain a year's supply for a few months' labor, which increased the production for the next year. Corn could not be taken across the mountains to the old States, and the practice of driving fat hogs to Virginia,

and North and South Carolina, was then hardly begun, on account of the small demand in those places. As to taking mules to the South, which has since become so common and so profitable, it must be remembered that Alabama and Mississippi were not then settled; besides, there were no mules in Tennessee, perhaps not a hundred in the United States.

Occasionally a boat-load of peltries, bacon, honey, (gathered from the forest-trees,) and other similar products, would go down the Tennessee, the Cumberland, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, to Natchez and New Orleans. After selling out for what they could get—usually little enough—the boat was abandoned, or sold for firewood, and the boatmen had the frolic of walking back home, unless any of them should prefer to lay out his share of the profits in a Choctaw pony. Though such trips brought very little money into the country, yet it was a favorite adventure with the bold young backwoodsmen of that day, and they seldom failed to come back several inches taller than they went. Louisiana was a foreign country, and a trip to New Orleans then answered in place of a “tour through Europe,” now so fashionable among young gentlemen.

Dry goods, so far as there were any consumed, except those manufactured in families, were brought from Baltimore and Philadelphia, in wagons, either all the way, or to Pittsburgh, and then by water down the Ohio and up the Tennessee and Cumberland. In those days a girl who could get a calico dress for her wedding was at least as fine as her neighbors, and therefore well satisfied. The small quantity of groceries used in the country were mostly brought up the Mississippi in keel-boats, a kind of river craft that could be propelled up stream more easily than the flat-bottoms. A pound of coffee could generally be had for about the price of a barrel of corn, and other imported groceries in proportion. Whisky was made at home in the greatest abundance, and it is not to be denied that it was used with a corresponding liberality.

A few mechanics had, by this time, found their way into Tennessee, but in very few places could any of them find constant employment in their trades. They usually made crops, and worked at their special business occasionally according to the demand. Blacksmiths came first, because most wanted. Rough carpenters and shoe-makers followed, but there was no call for brick-layers, stone-masons, painters, and the

many other workmen who now find regular and profitable employment throughout the land. If there was a tailor in all Tennessee, he no doubt had ample leisure for bee-hunting. Hatters and saddlers could do a better business. A few water-mills for grinding corn, some iron-works on a small scale, and two or three small manufactories of gunpowder, will perhaps complete the list of such improvements, as matters were in 1796.

CHAPTER XII.

SOCIAL INTERCOURSE AND AMUSEMENTS.

At the present time, Tennessee is among the foremost States of the Union in the production of Indian corn; but sixty years ago, it was much easier to raise large crops of that grain than it is now. The soil was more fertile, and required less work than farmers are now accustomed to bestow on it. The working season lasted about two months, and the crop could be gathered at any time from October to April. As scarcely any other kind of crop was, or could be, cultivated, the consequence was that the men were afflicted with a great deal of leisure, which they endeavored to relieve by a variety of occupations and amusements. As in all similar cases, while some of these were equally innocent and manly, some others were less to be commended.

One characteristic of the times was a general and promiscuous company-keeping. As every

housekeeper had an abundance of all the country afforded, and the wealthiest could have no more, this intercourse was upon a footing of free and easy equality. Everybody and his horse were welcomed to everybody's table and corn-crib. The expense of keeping horses was too slight to be regarded, and perhaps there never was a time or a country in which so much riding on horseback was done, by male and female, old and young. Whatever finery a gallant of the period could afford, was shown in the trappings of his saddle-horse—in his saddle, bridle, and martingale. The other sex was not behind in this particular, and a backwoods girl expected to be admired and courted only when seated with firmness and grace upon a well-dressed charger.

This was all as it should be; but quarter-racing and horse-swapping are to be less approved. In every neighborhood, where there was clear space enough for a quarter-track, the youngsters were often assembled to try the speed of their nags. This frequently led to bets, and to gambling in other modes, and, with the help of whisky, to quarrels and fights. As these meetings were never attended by women, they were always inclined to become scenes of

unchecked rowdyism, from which none returned with improved morals or manners. As to swapping horses, it was for a long time almost a mania in Tennessee, and the jockeys of this State were perhaps never matched for skill and management, except when they encountered a Kentuckian. It was frequently pursued, as men play games, merely for excitement.

A less exceptionable mode of spending time was in match-hunts. The young men, and sometimes old ones, of a neighborhood, would divide themselves into two parties, and hunt for several days. The scalps of the game killed—squirrels, hawks, crows, etc.—were to be produced and counted, at a time and place agreed upon, and generally with the understanding that the beaten party should pay the expense of a barbecue, to which everybody was invited. These hunting-matches were not only useful in destroying animals that were doing great damage to the corn-fields and poultry-yards, but were occasions of much social enjoyment and innocent mirth. Stories are told about the number of scalps sometimes taken in these hunts, that would hardly be believed by a boy of the present day, who thinks he has done pretty well if he has brought down one

squirrel and two woodpeckers in a day's ramble with his gun.

But all this did not satisfy the social spirit of the people. House-raising, log-rollings, and corn-shuckings drew together all the dwellers within five miles. When a cabin was to be put up, whether for a dwelling, or a kitchen, or a barn, not only men enough to do the work, but all the families around were called in. While the men were employed upon the house, the women and girls generally had a quilt on hand, and when both jobs were done, the evening was usually closed with a merry dance. But how could so many be entertained in a small cabin? Well, if only the women could find shelter in it, the hearty and robust backwoodsmen knew very well how to make themselves comfortable around a log-fire in the yard.

In the fall season, or early winter, when the corn had been brought into a heap near the house, the men of the neighborhood, black as well as white, were summoned to a shucking frolic, usually at night. A shucking was held at nearly every house in succession, as each farmer happened to get his pile ready. To the negro especially these were the most joyful and

exhilarating occasions of his life, hardly excepting Christmas; and at the corn-pile he was allowed to display his antics with freedom, to the great amusement of the white men. They still delight to chant the corn-song, which had its origin in those scenes of merry labor, which have now nearly passed away, with other customs of the olden time. Similar to the shucking frolic was the log-rolling, except that it had in it much more of hard labor.

In these days farmers in Tennessee are very careful to save their trees, all of them being needed for fencing and firewood; but sixty years ago, the great object was to get clear of the timber, and to have land enough ready for the plow. In this war of extermination against the forest, the agency of fire was employed to assist the ax in the work of destruction. During the winter months, every settler was busy in felling trees, and cutting up the trunks into manageable lengths, and in the early spring the rolling took place. It was an operation that required considerable force and more hands than were usually to be found in any one family. It was therefore customary for neighbors to help each other in the work of getting the logs into huge heaps, which were afterward fired and

burnt, during the dry and windy days of March and April.

In the early settlement of Tennessee, very few of the settlers were in circumstances to manage these matters—of raising houses and rolling logs—without calling in the help of neighbors. But the custom continued to prevail long after the necessity which first produced it had passed away. In despite of the hard work to be done, they were always occasions of mirth and festivity, and kept alive feelings of sympathy and neighborly kindness among the people. The man who had his corn shucked, or his house raised, or his logs rolled, without asking his neighbors to help, and helping them in turn, was regarded as a selfish and unsocial fellow, who cared for none but himself. These old customs still linger in some newly settled parts of West Tennessee, but elsewhere the altered condition of the country has caused them mostly to be disused.

CHAPTER XIII.

EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS
IN 1796.

IN the course of this history, we have noticed the establishment of one or more colleges by authority of the General Assembly of Tennessee; but our young readers must not be misled by names. All the appointments of the best college then actually established would hardly be considered sufficient for a country academy of the present day. Log houses with, or perhaps without, glass windows, with benches and desks roughly made of puncheons, furnished accommodation to the sophomores and seniors of the olden time. A few copies of the Latin and Greek classics, with a scanty supply of tattered grammars and dog-eared dictionaries, constituted the college library. A surveyor's compass and chain was probably the sum total of mathematical apparatus, and a few Indian arrow-heads in the pockets of the students might furnish the geological cabinet.

If such were the chartered colleges, it is not difficult to infer the character of the common schools, scattered here and there throughout the settlements. Even to this day people have not generally learned the importance of a comfortable building to accommodate a school of whatever grade. Then when the wealthiest of the population lived in rude cabins, it need not to be told that our grandfathers and grandmothers in Tennessee did not learn to spell from "a-b—ab to crucifix," and "cipher to the rule of three," amidst the appliances of a palatial structure. As is mostly the case even now, the school-room and its furniture were just a little inferior to the accommodations which the pupils enjoyed in their own homes. These things, however, were hardly worse in Tennessee than in the old States of North Carolina and Virginia, where an "old-field school-house" has ever presented the image of all discomfort.

Such being the description of buildings for school purposes, we are led to inquire as to the character and qualifications of the teachers. And we are inclined to think, from all we can learn upon this point, that generally they did not deserve, and could not have used to good purpose, any better accommodations than they

had. A few exceptions there doubtless were—men of solid learning and aptness to teach; but the great majority of them were not *teachers*, but mere *school-keepers*—men who took to the calling because they were too lame or too lazy to work. Such men were overpaid with a salary of sixty dollars a year, which was then about the average income of ordinary schools.

Do our young readers ask how it was possible for boys and girls to be educated by such men under such circumstances? Well, the truth is, that very many of them did not get learning enough to read a newspaper, if such a thing had been in their way: a few acquired enough to transact common business; and still fewer became fitted for eminent positions in Church and State. These last *educated themselves*, with the very little help derived from their school-masters. And we desire here solemnly to impress it upon every boy and girl that reads this book, that if they would be well educated, *they must do the work themselves*. The best teachers and the best books, with all the facilities of the best-managed schools, can only *help* them in the work. They must depend upon nothing but their own voluntary and independent labor.

The best educated men, and therefore the best

teachers, in the early times of Tennessee, were mostly ministers of the Presbyterian Church. This was simply because that Church alone, of all then in Tennessee, had always required its ministers to have a liberal, or at least a classical, education. Nearly all of them, at that day, were graduates of Princeton College, in New Jersey. This distinction, however, in favor of Presbyterians has long since disappeared, there being now as much intellectual culture and scholarship among the ministry of other denominations as among them. Perhaps, however, other denominations have not adopted any precise rule upon that point, but among them much is allowed on the score of "gifts and graces," apart from mere scholastic training.

Enough has been said in the foregoing history to show that the emigrants from the old States did not leave their Christianity behind them. The prevailing denominations were the Presbyterians chiefly among the Scotch-Irish portion of the population, and the Baptists and Methodists among the rest of the settlers. There was, indeed, little of the machinery and external pomp of worship—no resounding organs, nor cultivated choir-singers, to raise the raptures of a fastidious audience reclining on

cushioned pew-seats. But we are not to suppose, from the absence of these, that reverence, and piety, and fervent trust in God, were absent from the hearts of the people. On the contrary, it is reasonable to suppose that the circumstances of privation, hardship, and danger to which they were constantly exposed, had a mighty influence in imparting a deep sincerity and pathos to all religious feelings.

We cannot forbear to notice here one very peculiar religious institution, or rather mode of worship, which sprung up among the western settlers, though a few years later than the period to which our history reaches. We mean camp-meetings, which had their origin in the want of proper buildings for religious assemblies, and the difficulty of getting together a congregation in the ordinary way, owing to the scattered state of the population. Like most other things, camp-meetings have continued long after the circumstances which produced them have ceased to exist, and altogether have played a most important part in the history of Christian influence in Tennessee. Like the primeval forest, in the bosom of which the early meetings were held, they are now fast disappearing.

Our task is now finished, and our readers are

at the last page of this little book. In it we have endeavored to present a faithful picture of old times in Tennessee, and a true account of the character, feelings, and conduct of the "brave and true" men and women, who laid the foundation of society and government in our glorious State. Since the year 1796, two generations of men have passed, and probably not a man is now living who followed the banner of "Nolichucky Jack" in the Indian wars. In a few years the boys and girls, who have been our companions through this history, will have the character and destiny of Tennessee in their keeping. We bid them farewell, in the hope that, like their forefathers, they may prove themselves "true and brave"—the guardians and defenders of the rich blessings they have inherited.

THE END.



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